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This study was designed to establish the extent to which the hippies pose a new kind of dropout problem for higher education institutions; identify those aspects of hippie subculture which attract certain kinds of dropouts; and develop policy proposals aimed at increasing colleges' effectiveness in meeting the needs of contemporary students. Administrators at 9 San Francisco Bay area colleges were interviewed and data were gathered in the Bay area, in the Haight-Asbury section of San Francisco and in Portland, Oregon. Hypotheses concerning the hippies' academic background, ideological commitments, recruitment into "the hippie scene", and views concerning higher education were tested. Because traditional research methods were inappropriate for gathering information, the researchers acted as informal participant observers of the scene, which they later recorded. It was learned that college deans do not perceive hippies as either creating problems or affecting the dropout rate; hippies do not repudiate scholarship but question whether the university affords the opportunity to learn; most intend to return to college and claim satisfactory academic performance there; most were humanities or social science majors; most expressed only vague ideas about university reform; and younger hippies were more bitter about their high school experiences that older hippies about college. The recommendations deal with the distribution of power within the university and the nature of its involvement in the larger community. (JS)

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THE HIPPIE COLLEGE DROPOUT

John Howard

University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403

March 1969

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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SUMMARY

The research undertaken was designed to,

1. establish the extent to which the hippie movement posed a new kind of dropout problem for institutions of higher learning.
2. identify those aspects of hippie subculture which made it an attractive alternative for certain kinds of dropouts, and,
3. develop policy proposals aimed at increasing the effectiveness of institutions of higher learning in meeting the needs and expectations of contemporary students.

The data consists of interviews with administrators at nine San Francisco Bay area colleges. In addition, ethnographic and interview data were gathered in the Haight-Ashbury section of San Francisco and in Portland, Oregon, during the summer and fall of 1968.

The following hypotheses were tested.

1. A significant number of hippies will be found to have been involved in the peace and/or civil rights movements in the past.
2. A significant number of hippies will have been social science or humanities majors while in college.

These hypotheses focused on the perspective of persons who were attracted to the movement and suggested, essentially, that the move to drop out and become a hippie was prompted by a kind of disillusionment with society and with college in terms of their perceived inability to deal effectively with what these youth define as the most pressing moral problems confronting them.

3. The recruitment into the scene will be found to have been through a network of friends already on the scene.
4. The hippie will have an elaborate and well articulated critique of higher education.
5. Hippies will be adamant in their decision to remain out of school.

The conclusions were as follows.

1. Interviews with college deans indicated that they do not perceive hippies as either creating problems on campus or as having affected the dropout rate, rather, they were concerned about militant black students and about the new left.
2. Hippies do not repudiate scholarship per se, but, rather, question whether the university affords the opportunity to learn.
3. Most of the hippies who have been in college have the intention of going back to finish their work.
4. Most claimed satisfactory academic performance, but indicated that lack of "meaning" in their school work played a role in their decision to drop out. Many seem to have had disorganized academic careers, however (a number of majors, disputes with teachers, etc.).

5. College was seen as a place where one got a degree rather than a place where learning was important. In other words, the orientation was instrumental.

6. While in college most hippies were social science or humanities majors.

7. Hippies had no clear ideas with regard to university reform but, rather, spoke in vague terms about the need for change.

8. Younger hippies express more bitterness about the high school experience than older hippies do about college.

We speculated that as hippies return to school they provide the "troops" for new left activists and militant blacks.

Our policy recommendations deal with the distribution of power within the university and with the character of the universities' involvement with the larger community.

As regards power we recommended the following.

1. All aspects of in loco parentis should be done away with.

2. Students should be involved as equal partners in making decisions with regard to how the university is to be run.

As regards the university and the community we recommended that,

1. The university might set up "urban service centers" in ghettoes and slums designed to bring to bear the talents and skills of its staff in seeking solutions for ghetto problems. These centers would provide the opportunity for the mode of involvement in the "real world" which many students complain of not finding on the campus.

2. The university should make its instructional offerings more exciting and valuable by utilizing the talents of non-credentialed people with special expertise. By drawing on the talents of persons who have been involved day-to-day in the problems which move students the university both enriches its offerings and satisfies the demand of students for more relevant instruction.

3. The university should enlarge the opportunities of students to initiate courses.

4. The university should increase student opportunities to explore and take courses without fear of "failing" or getting "bad grades." There is a movement in this direction with the adoption of the pass/fail option by an increasing number of schools and it should be extended.

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The research reported on herein was designed to,

1. establish the extent to which a new kind of problem confronts institutions of higher learning,
2. Identify those aspects of hippie culture which made it an attractive alternative for certain college dropouts, and
3. Develop policy proposals aimed at increasing the effectiveness of institutions of higher learning in meeting the needs and expectations of contemporary students.

Let us enlarge on these objectives.

Students have always dropped out of college. The work of McNeeley in the 1930's/1/ and of Iffert in the 1950's indicated a 40 per cent dropout rate./2/ Meyerson, writing in the 1960's, observed that "The national average of those who enter college and fail to finish is estimated at 40 per cent."/3/ The Muscatine Report on Education at Berkeley indicated that "under the traditional four-year college program, most of the class that entered (Berkeley) as freshmen in September 1961 would have graduated in June 1965. In fact only 50% of them have graduated by January 1966 or are still on campus. The other half (54% of them women and 46% of them men) have left."/4/

The literature suggests that most students drop out for fairly conventional kinds of reasons. Eckland, summarizing the results of eight studies indicated that "Although there are some notable exceptions, there is a pattern of academic and financial problems nearly always ranking high, military service varies by year and sex, and job opportunities, marriage plans and illness generally rank low."/5/ Summerskill's summary of the literature suggested academic failure is a major factor for about one-third of those who drop out./6/ Jex and Reed examining the situation at the University of Utah indicated that "marriage, church mission, military service, transfer, other employment, financial difficulties, illness, and dissatisfaction with college were the principal reasons given by students about to drop out."/7/ The conventional has dominated in terms of the reasons given by students who leave school. Traditionally they have left school for some other mundane pursuit.

Until the rise of the hippie phenomenon in the 1960's no bohemian subculture had ever gained enough influence as to nurture and encourage student alienation to the extent of providing a meaningful and permanent rationale for not dropping back in. In the mid-1960's the hippie phenomenon developed. Its impact on the broader culture was immediate and dramatic. It introduced a new vocabulary, transformed popular music, altered styles in dress, and provoked re-examination of many standards and values which had been popularly taken for granted. It seemed plausible on our part in formulating this research project to ask whether the hippie phenomenon had also altered the college dropout problem. Hippies developed a kind of "counter-culture," i.e. localized communities of youth having values and norms opposed in many ways to those of the larger society. Prior to the development of the hippie movement the disenchanted student contemplating withdrawal from school would have received little reinforcement for his decision; nor would he have had any alternative discernibly more exciting than remaining in school. After the movement developed he had the option of affiliating with a subculture which both provided an ideology explaining and justifying his dropping out and an alternative and attractive style of life.

Below I have developed the rationale for the study in more systematic terms.

A Theory of Decision-Making

There were several theoretical perspectives from which dropping out could be discussed. For example, we could have conceptualized dropping out in terms of the repudiation of the norms of conventional society and asked under what conditions an individual withdraws allegiance to conventional norms and values? There is a vast body of literature on deviant subcultures which might have provided theoretical guidance in the formulation of such a hypothetical explanation for dropping out. On the other hand, we might have approached the matter in terms of a number of questions derived from the concept of function and from various formulations of functionalist theory. We might, for example, have asked to what extent certain societal functions of the university (of a multiversity variety as discussed by Clark Kerr) prove disfunctional in terms of sustaining student interest and allegiance (thereby generating such responses as the Free Speech Movement and protest against recruiters on campus representing the military or various kinds of business concerns)?

Given the nature of the subculture we were studying it would have been idle to formulate our theoretical thinking in terms which would have required quantitative analysis. This will be gone into in greater detail in section 2 in the discussion of the methods used in carrying out the study.

The research was qualitative in nature. We sought to formulate the kind of theoretical explanation for dropping out which would provide guidelines in gathering the data and a series of questions of the order which could be answered by the kind of qualitative data we would have. It was decided to conceptualize dropping out as a process in which the individual suspends allegiance to one culture and develops allegiance to another. The basic argument (or hypothetical explanation) can be stated as follows.

1. The process of suspension of allegiance to conventional society, a repudiation of the legitimacy of conventional society is associated, for young people who later joined the hippie movement, with participation in the civil rights and peace movements. The hippie

movement developed about two years after that phase of the civil rights movement in which whites participated in large numbers had declined. "Freedom Summer" in Mississippi occurred in 1964, the "Summer of Love" in San Francisco took place in 1967.

Between 1960 and 1965 thousands of young whites, along with tens of thousands of blacks, risked life and limb to demonstrate to the nation the nature of racial injustice. Many were beaten and some were killed. The response of the larger society was always slow and not always honest. Thus by August 1965 the Watts rebellion signaled the start of a new phase of the movement, a phase in which ghetto blacks, their condition worse than ever after years of non-violent protest, began to assert a more vigorous kind of struggle. Young whites had appealed to the conscience of the nation but had not been able to secure the kind of response which would have mitigated the conditions which produced Watts. The experience of youth in the peace movement was hardly more satisfying. Thousands marched and spoke out against the war but the official response was repeated escalation of the violence and the initiation of legal action of those who refused induction into the military.

We posited then that a very large percentage of hippies would be found to have been veterans of the peace and civil rights movements, veterans whose rejection of conventional society would be found to have begun with the failure of society to recognize the seriousness of their cause and respond with vigor to their demands.

2. We posited that the hippie college dropout would have been a social science or humanities major. Our thinking ran as follows: An individual may go to college primarily for instrumental or expressive reasons; that is, he may be interested principally in acquiring the kind of skills which will allow him to secure a "good job" or he may seek primarily to use the college experience to deepen his understanding of society and himself. Most hippies, we posited, would have been motivated by expressive values in going to college. Just as a set of humanist values might be seen as underlying participation in the peace and civil rights movements, so majoring in a social science or humanities discipline may be seen, for certain kinds of students, as an expression of humanist concerns; as reflective of a desire to explore the nature of ethical systems, to understand the sources of social ills, and to probe the sources of personality.

It is the case, however, that the social sciences neither provide any answers nor to any great extent give attention to the issues which excite contemporary passions. From the perspective of certain students the social sciences and humanities may be seen as neither instrumental, that is, they do not prepare one for a job as clearly as do other areas of study, nor expressive, in the sense of focusing on the issues which the student regards as crucial.

We posited then that most hippies would have been social science or humanities majors for the same reasons that they would have been involved in reformist and protest movements, and just as the sluggish response of society to their pleas for peace and justice would have led to their estrangement from conventional values, so the lack of expressive meaning in their course of work would have generated discontent with school and the decision to drop out.

3. Once an individual decides to drop out then what? Any individual plays multiple roles. A man can be a father, a husband, a son, and a brother. Thus, no individual is necessarily just a student, he also plays a variety of other roles. One can reasonably assume that the student with a history of participation in protest and non-conformist movements is not just a student but also participates in other subcultures. As school comes to be less and less meaningful the attractions of clearly expressive bohemian subcultures becomes greater. The bohemian alternative is acted upon mainly where there are friends already participating in it. Disillusionment with his school work makes the individual available for recruitment. He drops out if he has a network of friends and acquaintances who can help integrate him into an alternative social system.

4. To rationalize and justify his course of action the hippie dropout will articulate an elaborate critique of higher education and express intense repudiation of it. In this sense, his behavior will be no different from that of a member of any sect. It is a characteristic of deviant groups (using the term in a nonpejorative sense) that elaborate ideologies and belief systems are developed to secure the commitment of members in what is believed to be a hostile society. The man who adheres to the conventional may not sense any need to justify anything. The man who chooses an alternative may have to defend himself against the outrage or scorn of others. Therefore he develops an ideology to explain and justify his way of life. The literature on social movements suggests that this is a common process. In these terms, it seemed plausible to suggest that hippie dropouts would have developed an elaborate ideology regarding education and a set of justifications for repudiating higher education. One would also expect them to be adamant about staying out of school. The sect member generally expresses strong allegiance to his sect. One therefore would expect hippies to express no intention of going back to school.

Given this approach, we then expected that our data would reveal certain things. In a certain sense, they constitute hypotheses and can be stated as follows.

1. That hippies would have been involved in either the peace or the civil rights movement in the past.
2. That they would have been social science or humanities majors while in college.
3. That they would have moved into the hippie scene through a network of friends already on the scene.
4. That they would have an elaborate and well articulated critique of higher education.
5. That they would express no intention of going back to school

If all of these statements turn out to be true it would not mean, of course, that our larger formulation was correct, it would simply mean that it might be useful in terms of understanding why certain students drop out.

Ultimately we are concerned with policy. What would it mean in policy terms if our data suggested the validity of our formulation. Obviously, assuming a desire on the part of institutions of higher learning to matriculate would-be hippie students, they would have to make certain kinds of structural changes. These changes would have to be of the order that they increased the amount of freedom students have to shape and define their own careers as students. In other words, if some students are drawn to school mainly by expressive values, the institution would have to structure itself in such a way as to increase the opportunities the student has to explore and probe without necessary regard for bureaucratic regulations and possible punishments if the course explored turns out not to be appealing.

This then constituted the kind of thinking which provided structure in terms of the collection and analysis of the data. Let us now discuss some of the literature relevant to this project.

Review of the Literature

Literature reviews have the function of indicating the state of knowledge with regard to the questions under investigation in a particular piece of research. In that sense, the relevant literature here is that dealing with college dropouts, with hippies, and with the restructuring of institutions of higher learning in response to the challenges posed by contemporary students.

Let us briefly discuss each of these.

John Summerskill, in a review of the literature on "Dropouts from College" asked, "Why do approximately half the students attending American colleges and universities leave before advancing their education to the point of an undergraduate degree?" He concluded that "The extensive literature addressed to this question yields neither adequate nor conclusive answers."/8/ Kenneth Keniston has echoed this, "Anyone who tries to discuss American students is confronted with immense areas of ignorance. For despite years of systematic research using students as subjects, there is astonishingly little knowledge of students as people"/9/

Certain things are indicated by the literature, however. In general, it suggests that about half the students who enter school in a given year fail to graduate within four years but if students who come back after an interruption of two or three years are taken into account, the percentage goes to about sixty or seventy./10/

The hippie phenomenon would have had to have made a substantial impact in order to escalate the dropout rate above what it normally seems to be, suggesting that the more crucial questions for this research might be phrased in terms of changing reasons for dropping out rather than dropout rates per se.

Conventionally, the research strategy employed in studying dropouts has involved attempting to determine the degree of association between selected characteristics of students and propensity to drop out. The results thus far have not shown many characteristics to be strongly associated with dropping out, " . . . age per se does not affect attrition rate although older undergraduates may encounter more obstacles to graduation."/11/ The dropout rate for males and females appears to be about the same./12/ If one controls for high school performance the association between social class and dropping out is reduced./13/ Grades in secondary school seem to be a fair predictor of academic failure, /14/ but, on the other hand, up to two-thirds of the students who drop out are still in good standing./15/

There are a variety of other conclusions in the literature, not all of them relevant to this study. With regard to this undertaking the literature has the following meaning.

1. The student perspective in terms of dropping out has not been given sufficient attention, rather, the focus has tended to be on a variety of demographic factors. As long ago as 1951 Craven indicated that future research might " . . . attempt insight into the frame of reference of the student himself."/16/
2. Following from the above, to the extent that student perspectives have been taken into account, rarely has bohemianism (of the pre-hippie variety) been given much attention./17/

In general then the literature confirmed certain of the assumptions with which we began and suggested an absence of attention as regards the questions we proposed to investigate.

As regards hippies, a vast literature appeared in 1967 and 1968. The great bulk of it was sensationalist in nature, titillating squares with tales of dope parties and sex orgies. A smaller body of literature was produced by social scientists. Fred Davis argued that the hippie rejection of the work ethic might set the pattern for a society in which automation made work less and less likely./18/ Bennett Berger concluded that the hippie ethic was really very similar to that of earlier generations of bohemians./19/ Howard attempted to account for the decline and fall of Haight-Ashbury in terms of certain internal contradictions in hippie social organization./20/ Simmon and Trout focused on the ways in which college students are recruited into non-conformist subcultures./21/

Some of this literature is interesting both descriptively and analytically, but the focus of concern has never been that articulated in this research.

The new left, black and other minority group students, and hippies have brought on a crisis in American higher education and a literature has begun to appear asking "Where do we go from here?" Many of the issues discussed in this literature are not new. As early as 1909 serious journals such as the Atlantic Monthly were decrying the downgrading of teaching in favor of research. The tone of an Atlantic piece has a contemporary bite.

> "I took occasion not long ago," the author recounted, "to ask a college dean who was the best teacher in his institution. He named a certain instructor." This conversation followed:
> What is his rank?
> Assistant Professor.
> When will his appointment expire?
> Shortly.
> Will he be promoted?
> No.
> Why not?
> He hasn't done anything!/22/

Frances Falvey was writing in 1952 on Student Participation in College Administration. She observed that "Great advances have been made and continue to be made in the transition from student government to community government,"/23/ a conclusion which student militants of the 1960's would undoubtedly dispute.

Scholars writing on progressive change within the university have defined progress somewhat differently than students. In the mid-1950's Harold Stone published a piece on "The Flowering Curricula of American Higher Education." He was not referring, however, to programs to involve students in social action in the community or to the establishment of black studies and third world colleges but rather to the proliferation of academic specialities such as toxology, cytology, and bacteriology. /24/ What Stone regarded as a rose students later were to impugn as a cactus.

Only recently has a serious literature addressed to the demands and grievances of contemporary students begun to appear./25/ But no one, students nor faculty, administrators nor trustees, yet has any idea as to the form the university will have when it emerges from the crisis.

Summary

The research dealt with the college dropout problem and explored the utility of attempting to account for it in terms of a theory of decision-making and role-formation. Its ultimate objectives were to provide some guidelines as regards the process of change within the institutions of higher learning.

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METHODS

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section attention is given to the rationale for the strategies employed in the collecting and analysis of the data and in the second to how the research was actually carried out.

Alternative Research Perspectives

The conclusions of this research emerged from what is commonly called "qualitative research." For quite some time there has been a kind of covert contentiousness between the advocates of quantitative research and the practitioners of qualitative research. More than three decades ago Znaniecki spoke bitterly, and perhaps with some degree of exaggeration, of the consequences of the trend, existing even then toward "harder methods."

> This influence consists of substituting tabulating technique for intellectual methods, and thus eliminating theoretical thinking from the process of scientific research. . . . A condition can be foreseen--indeed, it has already been reached--when anybody who has learned by heart the various technical rules and formulae of statistics, with no other education whatsoever and no more intelligence than a moron, will be able to draw from a given material all the conclusions which statistical problematization makes possible. . . . There is little place for creative thought and even for scientific progress in this kind of problematization./1/

Glaser and Strauss probably accurately summed up the current status of the issue, "Qualitative research . . . was relegated by men like Stouffer and Lazarsfeld, to preliminary, exploratory, ground-breaking work for getting surveys started. Qualitative research was to provide quantitative research with a few substantive categories and hypotheses. Then, of course, quantitative research would take over, explore further, discover facts and test current theory."/2/

They identified several modes of adaptation shown by qualitatively oriented researchers living in a hostile world.

On the one hand there are those who use qualitative techniques but resort to the rhetoric of quantitative research.

> These advocates tried to systematize the ways they collected, assembled and presented qualitative materials. . . . Virtually every maneuver was accomplished according to precise patterns--for example, how interviews or observations were recorded, coding

> procedures accomplished, modeled analyses done, and concepts clarified. The path of systematization was guided . . . by the pressure that quantitative verifications had put on all sociologists to clarify and codify all research operations, no matter what the type of data or the content of the research report./3/

Howard S. Becker, one of the most prominent users of "soft" methods, exemplifies this having suggested that the qualitatively oriented " . . . can profit from the observation of Lazarsfeld and Barton that the 'analysis of quasistatistical data' can probably be more systematic than it has been in the past, if the logical structure of quantitative research at least is kept in mind to give general warning and directions . . ."/4/

On the other hand, "Another position taken by the advocates of qualitative data has been that these data are their media and therefore were still the best and richest for theorizing about social structures and social systems. Also, qualitative method still was the only way to obtain data on many areas of social life not amenable to the techniques for collecting quantitative data."/5/

A variant of this position is expressed by Robert Nisbet in a stimulating discussion of the relationship between methods and ideas.

> My interest in sociology as an art form was stimulated recently by some reflections on ideas that are by common assent among the most distinctive that sociology has contributed to modern thought. Let us mention these: mass, society, alienation, anomie, rationalization, community, disorganization . . . .
>
> It occurred to me that not one of these ideas is historically the result of the application of what we are today pleased to call scientific method. If there is evidence that any one of these ideas as first set forth in the writings of such men as Tocqueville, Weber, Simmel, and Durkheim, is the result of problem-solving thought, proceeding rigorously and self-consciously from question to hypothesis to verified conclusion, I have been unable to discover it. On the contrary, each of these profound and seminal ideas would appear to be the consequence of intellectual processes bearing much more relation to the artist than the scientist, as the latter tends to be conceived by most of us. "Apart from processes of intuition, impressionism, iconic imagination . . . it seems unlikely that any of these ideas would have come into being to influence generations of subsequent thought and teaching."/6/

Glaser and Strauss suggest that "there is no fundamental clash between the purposes and capacities of qualitative and quantitative methods or data."/7/ I adhere to this position but for reasons somewhat different from those expressed by Glaser and Strauss. It is not a matter of one approach or the other being inherently superior, but rather of greater or lesser appropriateness in terms of the kinds of questions asked. Having done both conventional survey research and research requiring ethnographic methods and participant observation, /8/ I entertain, I believe, some sensitivity to the need to avoid methodological Maoism and to adapt method to problem.

Several considerations suggested the greater appropriateness of qualitative methods in this research. Below I have discussed some of these.

Several years ago I undertook a study of the black Muslims. A brief discussion of the approach used in gathering the data is relevant in terms of grasping the realities of doing research on hippies.

To sample in a statistical sense implies that one has beforehand certain kinds of information about a population. Not much was known about the Muslims; the safest thing that could be said was that they were black. Further, it was not at all clear that any persons identified as members of the Nation of Islam would be willing to be interviewed. To have attempted to sample from a population of Muslims in the statistical sense of the word "sample" would have been inappropirate in the extreme. Similarly, it would have been inappropriate in terms of the hippies. The realities of the situation in both cases required other strategies. One either used so-called soft methods or one did not do the study.

In both instances the objective was to describe a subculture and to conduct interviews with participants in that subculture. A subculture consists of patterns of organization and of certain integrating norms. In both instances a form of "urban ethnography" seemed most appropriate. The ethnographer does not record everything. His observations are guided by a certain schema which give relevance to certain dimensions of the subculture he is studying. He is not necessarily limited to description, however. He may be concerned with relating certain institutional characteristics of the subculture or given normative configurations to given patterns of behavior or constellations of attitudes. His observations then may be informed by and reflect upon theory.

Care has to be given in a study of this sort to the techniques used in gathering qualitative data. In the study of the Muslims the major problem was one of access. From the perspective of the committed member of the Nation of Islam, truth was attainable only within the framework of the teachings of Elijah Muhhammad. Approaching members of the organization in the role of a social scientist doing a study was not useful as their belief system repudiated the notion that anyone other than a Muslim could really understand the organization. It was necessary then to play the role of an aspirant member.

As regard hippies, access was not as much of a problem as was the danger of being "put on." It turned out that most hippies had been to college and had at least some passing familiarity with "research." Relatively few respected research as an endeavor however, and thus the student of hippie subculture approaching them in the role of researcher ran the risk of being told wild stories of frenzied dope parties and wierd love rites.

There were three ways in which the dimensions of the role could be altered so as to reduce the likelihood of being put on. Under certain conditions the researcher chose to hide his identity and pretend to be a part of the scene; alternatively, an implicitly understood exchange relationship sometimes existed between researcher and the respondent, each giving certain kinds of information in return for certain kinds of information; third, the researcher indicated to the respondent that he was already "hip to the scene" and therefore would be able to see through any put on.

There are certain subtleties then in successfully carrying out qualitative research. One does not simply go to see what is happening. There are explicit techniques and the value of one's endeavor hinges on the success with which these techniques are mastered.

Questions inevitably arise in qualitative studies about verification and generalization. There are techniques for analyzing qualitative data which facilitate generalization where one has a small number of cases of some unknown degree of representativeness. Analytic induction, for example, has been used by Cressey, Becker and others. It is intended to yield universal generalizations.

We initially had the intention of using analytic induction, but ultimately a universal generalization about hippies seemed pretentious and unrealizable. We sought, rather, a series of statements in which we had a reasonable degree of confidence.

That reasonable degree of confidence was a product of the use of multiple of observers in the field and of penetration of hippie subculture from a number of points. For example, time was spent doing volunteer work at Huckleberry's, a refuge in Haight-Ashbury for runaway teenagers. Rural communes such as Morningstar were visited. Time was spent with the diggers going about collected and preparing food to be given away in the community. The status of "prospective member" was established in the Krishna Consciousness Temple. A day was spent making the rounds in Haight-Ashbury with Richard Hongisto, a member of the community relations section of the San Francisco Police Department, and known in the community as "the hippie cop." Further, a number of hippies in the Portland, Oregon, area were also interviewed. This both supplemented the data gathered on San Francisco hippies and allowed for comparison.

There was continuous critical examination of what we were doing and the adaptation of approach to the exigencies of the situation in which data were being gathered. One member of the team, for example, commented on the rationale for the approach used in gathering data on members of the Krishna Temple, an important religious sect in Haight-Ashbury.

> A word on participant observer methodology is in order; the researcher who enters into the world of his subjects assumes their activities, sentiments, and perspectives. An outsider viewing the ceremonies (of the Krishna Temple), as a "detached" observer would probably, without knowing the participants and the meanings behind their actions, reach conclusions different from my own. The "objective" observer, however, is subject to misleading judgments and inferences. In fact, he is likely to profoundly disagree with the participants themselves about the "truth" of what the observer records as having happened.
>
> Lacking a common purpose and a common interpretation, subjects and observer are at odds. However, as an unidentified researcher, I was trusted as an equal participant in the activities of the temple. This was most important because the major purpose of the study was to collect information about the individuals in the temple. By not setting up barriers between myself and the subjects, I was able to obtain more complete, spontaneous and honest responses to my questions. Identification of oneself as a researcher results in nearly insurmountable problems of rapport in such subcultures. This is illustrated by the hostile and unproductive response Lewis Yablonsky received when he identified himself as a researcher at the hippie Morningstar Ranch.
>
> At various times I talked to approximately thirty temple members individually. For each I asked a series of questions from the interview schedule. Often my questions were in the form of statements, such as "I think political action is necessary to change society." Such a statement usually elicited contradictory response from the temple members. Frequently the respondent talked at great length covering several items included on the original interview schedule./9/

There are problems with qualitative methods just as there are problems with quantitative methods. It is incumbent upon the researcher to be aware of those problems and carry out his research in such a manner as to reduce their consequences in terms of the validity of his conclusions. Being aware of the problems we attempted to execute the research with as much rigor as possible given the nature of the population we were studying and the kinds of questions we were asking.

The Research

The proposal committed us to interviewing deans of students at selected colleges for the purpose of gaining their perspective on the changing dimensions of the dropout problem, and to interviewing as many hippies as made themselves available and to development of an ethnography on hippie subculture.

In April of 1968 deans at nine San Francisco Bay area colleges were interviewed. The colleges were a cross-section of the types found in the area. These interviews led to some reformulation of the kinds of questions we asked in terms of hippies and the relationship between school and the hippie phenomenon.

In July and August of 1968 the hippie phenomenon was subjected to scrutiny. Members of the research team undertook participant observation in the Haight-Ashbury. Some went to work as volunteers at Huckleberry's the home for runaways. Others took part in the activities of the diggers or joined the Krishna Consciousness Temple. Visits were made to rural hippie settlements such as Morningstar ranch and those up around Mendocino and down the San Francisco peninsula. In addition, some interviewing was done in Portland, Oregon. Ethnographic and interview data were gathered.

What emerged was a description of a social system of a much greater order of complexity than is generally suggested in the literature on hippies and some unexpected results as regards hippies and their attitudes toward higher education.

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9. From Gregory Johnson's field notes.

The hippie movement attracted a wide variety of people. On one end of the age continuum there were teenyboppers--prepubescent girls and beardless boys dressed in colorful ways and crowding the streets of Haight-Ashbury on weekends, and on the end there were veterans of the beat movement of the 1950's--well past thirty and showing it in their ravaged faces but still a part of the scene.

Our discussion of the hippie college dropout will not be wholly comprehensible unless one has some understanding of the different character types found in the community and of the communities' patterns of social organization. Consequently this chapter is devoted to a description of the scene. It provides the context within which the discussion of the hippie dropout is carried on, that discussion presupposing some knowledge of the dimensions of hippie subculture.

Haight-Ashbury: In the Beginning

Before the rise of Haight-Ashbury, the aspiring writer or artist from the Midwest fled to Greenwich Village. By the summer of 1967, Haight-Ashbury had replaced The Village as the place to go, and indeed people were leaving the Village to move to San Francisco. The words of that old square, Horace Greeley, "Go West, young man," had rarely been so diligently heeded.

The Haight-Ashbury area was for many years an upper-middle class neighborhood. Haight Street was named for Harry Haight, a conservative former governor of California who is probably weeping in purgatory that his name is associated with the love generation.

As the city grew and the residents of the area prospered they moved out and rented their property. Eventually the expanding black population began to move in in the late 1950's and early 1960's; beatnik refugees came from the North Beach area of the city. Eventually in this relatively tolerant community a small homosexual colony formed. Even before the hippies appeared then, Haight-Ashbury had become a kind of quiet bohemia.

Hippie is a generic term./1/ It refers to a general orientation of which there are a number of somewhat different manifestations. Below I have discussed four character types commonly found on the hippie scene: (1) the visionaries, (2) the freaks and heads, (3) the midnight hippie, and (4) the plastic hippies. They differ with regard to degree of internalization of the core values.

The Visionaries

The visionaries gave birth to the movement. It lived and died with them in Haight-Ashbury. Let us attempt here to understand who they were and what happened.

The hippies offered in 1966 and 1967 a serious, though not well articulated, alternative to the conventional social system. To the extent that there was a theory of change implicit in their actions it might be summed up by the phrase "transformation by example."/2/ Unlike political revolutionaries they attempted no seizure of power. Rather, they asked for the freedom to "do their thing," i.e., create their own social system. They assumed, implicitly, that what they created would be so joyous, so dazzling, so "groovy" that the "straight"/3/ would abandon his own "up tight" life and come over to their side. A kind of anti-intellectualism pervades hippie thinking, thus, their theory of change was never made explicit.

The essential elements in the hippie ethic are based on some very old notions--the mind/body dichotomy, condemnation of the worship of "things," the estrangement of people from each other and so on. Drastically collapsed, the hippie critique of society runs roughly as follows: Success in the society is defined largely in terms of having money and a certain standard of living. The work roles which yield the income and the standard of living, are for the most part, either meaningless or intrinsically demeaning. Paul Goodman, a favored writer among the young estranged, has caught the essence of this indictment.

> Consider the men and women in TV advertisements demonstrating the produce and singing the jingle. They are clowns and mannequins, in grimace, speech, and action.. . . what I wish to call attention in this advertising is not the economic problem of synthetic demand . . . but the human problem that these are human beings working as clowns; and the writers and designers of it are human beings thinking like idiots. . . .
>
> Juicily glubbily
> Blubber is dubbily
> delicious and nutricious
> --eat it, kitty, it's good./4/

Further, the rewards of the system, the accoutrements of the standard of living, are not intrinsically satisfying. Once one has the split level ranch type house, the swimming pool, the barbecue, and the color television set--then what? Does one then measure his progress in life by moving from a twenty-one inch set to a twenty-four inch set? The American tragedy, according to the hippies, is that the "normal" American evaluates himself and others in terms of these dehumanizing standards.

The hippies, in a sense, invert traditional values. Rather than making "good" use of their time they "waste" it, rather than striving for upward mobility they live in voluntary poverty. They had a vision of a society in which expressive concerns clearly superceded the instrumental.

The dimensions of the experiment first came to public attention in terms of a number of hippie actions which ran directly counter to some of the most cherished values of the society. A group called the Diggers came into existence and began to feed people free in Golden Gate Park in San Francisco and in Constitution Park in Berkeley. They themselves begged for the food they prepared. They repudiated the notion that the right of people to satisfy their basic needs to be mediated by money. If they had food, one could share it with them, no questions asked. Unlike the Salvation Army they did not require prayers as a condition of being fed, unlike the welfare department they did not demand proof of being without means. If a person needed lodgings they attempted to make space available. They repudiated the cash nexus and sought to relate to people in terms of their needs.

Free stores were opened in Berkeley and San Francisco, stores where a person could come and take what he needed. Rock groups such as Country Joe and the Fish gave free concerts in the park.

On the personal level a rejection of the conventional social system encouraged dropping out. Given the logic of the hippie ethic, dropping out made sense. The school system prepares a person for an occupational role. The occupational role yields money and allows the person to buy the things the society says are necessary for the "good life." If the society's definition of the good life is rejected, then dropping out becomes a sensible action in that one does not want the money with which to purchase such a life. By dropping out, a person can "do his own thing." And that might entail making beads or sandals, or exploring various levels of consciousness, or working in the soil to raise the food he eats.

They had a vision of people grooving together and they attempted to remove those things which posed barriers--property, prejudice, and preconceptions about what is moral and immoral.

By the summer of 1968, it was generally felt by those who remained that Haight-Ashbury was no longer a good place. "It's pretty heavy out there on the street," an ex-methodrine addict remarked to me as we talked of changes in the community, and his sentiments were echoed in one of the underground newspapers. "For at least a year now . . . the community as a common commitment of its parts, has deteriorated steadily. Most of the old crowd is gone. Some say they haven't actually left but are staying away from the street because of bad vibrations."

In those streets, in the summer of 1968, one sensed despair. Significantly, the agencies and facilities dealing with problems and disasters were still very much in evidence, while those which had expressed the elan and hope of the community either no longer existed or were difficult to find. The Free Clinic was still there, as was the shelter for runaways, and the refuge for persons on bad trips; but free food was no longer served in the parks and I looked for several days before finding the Diggers.

Both external pressures (coercion from the cops and various agencies of city government) and internal contradictions brought about the fracturing of the experiment. Towards the end of this section I will discuss external pressures and why they were mounted. At this point I will deal only with the internal contradictions of the hippie ethic.

Stated simply the argument is as follows: The hippies assumed that voluntarism (every man doing his thing) was compatible with satisfying essential group and individual needs and with the maintenance of a social system in which there was an absence of power differentials and invidious distinctions based on wealth, sex, race, or what have you. That assumption is open to question. Voluntarism can work only where the participants in a social system have a sufficient understanding of the needs of the system as to be willing to do things they do not want to do in order for the system to persist. Put somewhat differently, every system has its own needs and where voluntarism prevails one must assume that the participants in it will both understand what needs to be done and be willing to do it. Phrased in yet another manner, if little attention is given to the instrumental needs of a social system in the interests of maximizing its expressive potential, the social system itself may break up.

Let me clarify by way of illustration. I put it to one of the Diggers as to why they were no longer distributing food in the park.

> Well, man, it took a lot of organization to get that done. We had to scuffle to get the food. Then the chicks or somebody had to prepare it. Then we got to serve it. A lot of people got to do a lot of things at the right time or it doesn't come off. Well, it got so that people weren't doing it. I mean a cat wouldn't let us have his truck when we needed it or some chick is grooving somewhere and can't help out. Now you hate to get into a power bag and start telling people what to do but without that man, well . . .

By refusing to introduce explicit rules designed to prevent invidious power distinctions from arising, such distinctions inevitably begin to appear. Don S., a former student of mine who had moved to Haight-Ashbury, commented on the decline of the communal house in which he had lived.

> We had all kinds of people there at first and anybody could stay if there was room. Anybody could crash out there. Some of the motorcycle types began to congregate in the kitchen. That became their room, and if you wanted to get something to eat or a beer you had to step over them. Pretty soon, in a way, people were cut off from the food. I don't mean that they wouldn't give it to you but you had to go in their "turf" to get it. It was like they had begun, in some very quiet and subtle way, to run things.

In the absence of external pressures, the internal contradictions of the hippie ethic would probably have led to a splintering of the experiment. Significantly, many of the visionaries are trying it again outside the city. There are rural communes up and down California. In at least some of them, allocation of task and responsibility is fairly specific.

There is the attempt within the framework of their core values--freedom from hang ups about property, status, sex, race, and the other furies which pursue the normal American--to establish the necessary degree of order to ensure the persistence of the system within which these values are expressed.

The members of the Krishna Temple are a subcategory of the visionaries and seek in a different way to handle the problem of freedom and order.

The Krishna Consciousness movement was started in New York in 1961 by the followers of A.C Bhaktivedanta, an Indian expatriate. The center of the movement, the Swami is believed to be the direct link to the deity, Krishna. His name is invoked as the "spiritual master" in each holy ceremony. Originally only a handful of Greenwich Village residents, the practicing membership has grown to approximately 5,000 in eight Krishna Consciousness temples in the United States and Canada. In San Francisco, the temple was started in 1966 by several migrants from New York, including the poet, Allen Ginsberg. The San Francisco center is now the largest temple in the organization; over 800 individuals attended its Juggernaut Love Festival this past July in Golden Gate Park. The movement's rapid growth, especially among denizens of the Haight-Ashbury, makes this group a focus of this study.

An examination of the attractions of this alternative social identity more clearly reveals the reasons for rejection of the present social options and the subcultural alternatives for the dropouts.

The individuals attending the temple fall into two categories. Approximately thirty are initiates; they are the dedicated, evangelical, practicing members of the religion. A dozen actually live in the temple, cooking for the ceremonies, cleaning and caring for the sacred objects. The rent and maintenance of the temple is financed by the initiates; most hold jobs and contribute a large portion of their salaries to the temple. Physically the initiate is distinct because he has shaved his head, wears long cloth robes and white nose paint. This distinguishes him from the other individuals who regularly attend the temple, but wear no identifying marks. The "regulars," numbering several hundred, usually attend the temple for meals, and kirtan (chanting ceremony) and special festivals. Some attend daily, but do not wish to become initiates. Rather than an all-encompassing way of life, the temple is merely a segment of their lives. Most of these people are residents of the nearby Haight-Ashbury and have adopted Krishna Consciousness as a form of religion.

Daily Kirtan service before meals is the occasion for the gathering of most people. At the door of the temple is an initiate who collects money and instructs newcomers to take off their shoes. Many people who happen to be walking by the temple are attracted by the chanting and look in. The man at the door invites them in. At each Kirtan there are several such curiousity seekers. Some later become regular attenders. Some merely are amused and laugh. The chant starts slowly, with the initiates setting the tempo. Several play instruments--conga drums, sitar, finger cymbals and seashell. The chant: Hare Krishna, Hare

Krishna, Krishna, Krishna, Hare, Hare; Hare Rama, Hare Rama, Rama, Rama, Rama, Hare, Hare. The chant gradually increases in volume and intensity until it culminates after an hour in a crescendo of ecstasy. Near the end, the various initiates begin their own personal chants, standing up and dancing, while worshipping assorted pictures of their spiritual master on the wall.

The chanting soon comes to a halt, everybody sits and one of the initiates reads a passage from the Gita and comments on it. The meaning of holy concepts is frequently clarified: Hare (energy), Krishna (god), and Rama (manhood) are the holy words. Each individual, we are told, possesses Krishna (god) within him. God is not an impersonal, supernatural entity. A few questions follow, but if they are of a quibbling or contradictory nature, they are put aside or repudiated. Then the meal is served. Each plate is passed back hand-to-hand to the people in the back of the room until everybody has been served. This is a communalistic gesture which facilitates integration in the group when eating. The food is rich, spicy and strictly vegetarian, without meat, fish or eggs. When the food comes, quiet conversations begin.

At this point, I usually collected information on an informal interview basis with the respondents. I attended approximately three times a week. (N.B. "I" here is Gregory Johnson.)

The success of the Krishna Consciousness movement has thus far been highly dependent on its proximity to hippie centers. The two largest organizations, in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury and New York's Lower East Side are located in areas of low rents, bohemian tradition and a transitory population. Life in these areas can be highly uncertain. Many individuals live day-to-day, spending most of their time seeking food and shelter. As well as social deviants, each area has become a center for criminal elements as well. In the backdrop of this highly unstable, anomic and somewhat precarious situation, Krishna Consciousness has enjoyed its most success. It offers its members certainty and permanence in a highly undefined environment. The teachings of the Bhagavad-Gita are centuries old, reputedly containing timeless wisdom. It is a book that the members use for the final answers to all questions and as the ultimate justification for all actions. Besides the book, fortification to the individual convert is offered by the other members at the temple.

One can differ about minor interpretations about the scripture, but complete unanimity about the infallibility of the Gita is demanded. The chanting, of course, is the primary means of integration of the group. "Hare Krishna" is the salutation between members instead of "hello" or "goodbye." Members frequently chant when walking in the street, especially when alone. Several people claimed they felt safe and protected when chanting, whereas before they had been afraid. The whole movement seemed to establish personal self-confidence. When asked what he would do if attacked on the street, one member claimed that he would now fight back, "Because I would be fighting for Krishna, rather than myself."

This same self-asserting loyalty to Krishna is also demonstrated in the members' attitudes towards money and employment. Of those interviewed, all but two initiates were employed. Invariably, the individual member felt he was working for the good of Krishna rather than for himself. Many claimed they are happier in their jobs than they were before, because they have given up all hope of personal gain since their money goes to Krishna. Eight of those interviewed stated that they had started working after joining the temple, after being previously unemployed. They had been purposeless, but Krishna had given them the desire to get jobs--as taxi drivers, computer operators, clerks, and cabinet makers. They generally took jobs which were solitary, allowing opportunities for individual chanting. Although the general ideology of the group is extremely anti-materialistic, there were some adaptations. Tamal, the leader stated, "Money is not a bad thing; just its previous uses have been destructive. It is a form of energy. It can be used for good and bad purposes. When it is used for Krishna, it is a positive thing." In fact, Tamal helps operate the small store next to the temple which sells incense, beads, gowns and hindu finger cymbals at competitive prices. The profits go to the temple. At one time, while in the midst of deep contemplation and transcendental chanting, Tamal was interrupted by another initiate from next door who asked him the price of some beads.

Based on the evidence gathered, it seems that the organization gives the members incentive to get jobs, to earn money to promote Krishna, i.e., do "good works." At the same time, however, the ideology is one of passivity and acceptance rather than aggressiveness and change. As in India, the individual has a certain place in the world (dharma) which he can discover through study and worship, but cannot change. In India, this ideology was used by the upper castes to control the advancement of the lower castes. It led to a renunciation of the present world, and an expectation of possible betterment in the next. In India, as Weber demonstrated, this religion was used by the Brahmin castes in order to justify the existing social structure. By convincing the lower castes that this world is unchangeable, the stability of the existing order is ensured. This defeatist acceptance corresponds to the general passive orientation of the hippie ideology. Krishna Consciousness teaches that attempts for social and political change are fruitless and irrelevant. It does not matter what politicians are in power, it will not affect individual lives. "Someday there will be only one party, the Krishna party," one member jested. "People will not vote, they will chant."

In one sense, the Krishna organization could be viewed as rehabilitative. The behavior of the initiates is drastically changed; they forsake many of their previous activities (some viewed by society as illegal or questionable) and live an ascetic life. In some ways, their life is a model one. They abstain from drugs, alcohol, cigarettes, and sex. They cut their previously long hair, becoming bald except for a pony-tail in back. Their previously deviant life-style is channeled into different directions.

The most effective weapon by the public, and the news media to sanction the hippie life-style has been the enforcement of drug laws prohibiting marijuana and LSD. Here the Krishna Consciousness movement is immune because of its prohibitions against drugs. The police pressure has contributed to the disintegration of the Haight-Ashbury community. Krishna Consciousness has been the beneficiary; it is the only subculture emerging from the hippie movement not unified by drug use. The organization is composed largely of ex-drug users who previously espoused drug use and orthodox hippie values. But now they are stating different values and reacting to different cues, often within a similar friendship group. In this sense, they could be typified as a drug-rehabilitation organization, such as Synanon, in which the members also cut their hair and practice rigid adherence to certain rules. But the comparison is not complete, because only the members' outwardly deviant behavior is changed.

Practicing Krishna Consciousness, the members frequently explain, is a way to stay high all the time. Everlasting euphoria is achieved, which is superior to a more transitory drug-induced state.

Theoretically this poses an interesting problem of deviance. Does the movement reaffirm the individual's pre-existing deviant life-style or does it reconcile the individual with society?

On the surface, the latter alternative seems feasible; members secure employment, cease to worry about radically transforming the political system and renounce illegal drugs. From the standpoint of the larger society, these people are no longer factors of instability and are now contributing more productively. Stepping down to the individual level, however, indicates that the individual's personal alienation has not decreased. In Weber's terms, the person is "in the world," but not "of the world." Disaffection from the larger society has merely been reaffirmed and revitalized in a different symbolic package. The individual now interacts with identical or similar persons in a more unified situation with a different set of expectations. This represents a second step in an alienating process for individuals. The members had already rejected traditional life patterns and values when they entered Krishna Consciousness. The movement idealized, organized and dogmatized many of the members' previous "hippie" attitudes. It represented an alien, exotic and distinctly non-American set of actions and beliefs. Whether the movement fortifies the pre-existing cultural alienation or makes them accept the legitimacy of the traditional order depends upon the extent the individual member is involved in the temple. For the initiates, in particular, the conservative world-acceptance teachings of the church leads to resolution of personal disputes with the society. Employment for instance, is no longer a sell-out.

The members of the Krishna Consciousness do not use drugs; the visionaries do, but that was not at the core of their behavior. For that reason a distinction between both and the more heavily drug oriented hippies is legitimate. The public stereotype of the hippie is actually a composite of these two somewhat different types.

Freaks and Heads

Drugs are a common element on the hip scene. The most frequently used are marijuana and hashish which are derived from plants, and Lycergic Acid Dicthelimide (LSD) and Methodrine, which are chemical derivatives. Much less commonly used are opium and heroin. The plant derivatives are smoked while the chemicals are taken orally, "mainlined" (shot into the vein), or "skin popped" (injected under the skin). To account for the use of drugs among hippies one must understand something of the mythology and ideology surrounding their use.

Marijuana is almost universally used by the hip and by hippies. For some it is simply a matter of being "in," others find it a mild euphoriant. A subgroup places the use of drugs within a religious or ideological context./5/

Both freaks and heads are frequent users of one or more psychedelic agents, the term "freak" however has negative connotations, suggesting either that the user is compulsive in his drug taking and therefore in a "bag," or that his behavior has become odd and vaguely objectionable as a result of sustained drug use. The mild nature of marijuana is suggested by the fact that among drug users one hears frequent mention of "pot heads" but never to "pot freaks," LSD and Methodrine, on the other hand, seem to have the capacity to induce freakiness, the "acid freak" and the "speed freak" being frequently mentioned.

In 1966 and 1967 the drug of choice in Haight-Ashbury for those who wanted to go beyond marijuana was LSD. An elaborate ideology surrounded its use and something of a cult developed around the figure of Dr. Timothy Leary, the ex-Harvard professor, who advocated it as the answer to the world's problems.

The major tenets of that ideology may be summed up as follows.

1. LSD introduces the user to levels of reality which are ordinarily not perceived.

The straight might speak of "hallucinations" suggesting that the acid user is seeing things which are not real. The user admits that part of his trip consists of images and visions, but insists that part also consists of an appreciation of new and more basic levels of reality. To make the straight understand, some users argue that if a microscope had been placed under the eyes of a person during the middle ages that person would have seen a level of reality for which there was no accounting within the framework of his belief system. He possibly would have spoken of "hallucinations" and demanded that microscopes be banned as dangerous.

Some users speak of being able to feel the rhythm and pulse of the earth and see the life in a tree while on a trip. They contend that the trip leaves them with a capacity to experience reality with greater intensity and greater subtlety.

2. LSD develops a certain sense of fusion with all living things.

The tripper speaks of the "collapse of ego" by which he means a breakdown of the fears, anxieties, rationalizations, and phobias which have kept him from relating to others in a human way. He also speaks of sensing the life process in leaves, in flowers, in the earth, in himself. This process links all things, makes all things one.

The ideology can be expanded but these are some of its essential elements. It represents perhaps the purest expression of the high value placed on the expressive in the subculture and a degree of repudiation of the instrumental suggesting that it is entirely illusory.

Three things account for the decline of acid users in the Haight-Ashbury: (1) personal disillusionment on the part of many people with Timothy Leary, (2) rise in the frequency of acid "burns" (the sale of fake LSD), and (3) the rise of Methodrine use.

Let us deal with the decline and fall of Tim Leary. Leary was, in a sense, the Johnny Appleseed of acid. He was hailed by some as a new Christ. When the unbelievers began to persecute him, however, he had need of money to fight various charges of violation of drug laws which carried the possibility of up to thirty years in jail. Possibly for that reason he embarked upon what was in essence a theatrical tour. His show (billed as a religious celebration) was intended to simulate the acid experience. It was bad theater, however, and consisted mostly of Leary sitting cross-legged on the stage in front of candles and imploring his audience, which might have had to pay up to $4.00 a head, to commune with the billion-year old wisdom in their cells. Leary's tour coincided in time with the beginning of his decline among hippies and probably contributed to it. Additionally, the increased demand for acid brought on traffic in fake acid, the unsuspecting would-be tripper possibly getting only baking soda or powdered milk for his money.

In 1967 Methodrine replaced LSD as the major drug in Haight-Ashbury. There is no evidence that marijuana is harmful. The evidence on LSD is open to either interpretation. Methodrine, on the other hand, is a dangerous drug. It is a type of amphetamine or "pep" pill and is most commonly referred to as "speed." Taken orally it has the effect of a very powerful amphetamine. "It uses up body energy as a furnace does wood. . . . When it is shot (taken in the blood stream) it is said to produce an effect of watching the sun come up from one hundred miles away. And the user is bursting with energy." In an interview I conducted in July 1968, a former "speed freak" enlarged on the effects of the drug.

> You're really going you know, you can do anything when you're high on speed. You seem to be able to think clearer and really understand things. You feel powerful. And the more you drop the stuff the more you feel like that. It kills the appetite so over time malnutrition sets in. You're in a weakened state and become susceptible to all kinds of diseases. I caught pneumonia when I was on speed. But I couldn't stop. I was falling apart, but it was like I was running so fast I couldn't hit the ground. It was a kind of dynamic collapse.

The use of Methodrine seemed to have leveled off in mid-1968 and possibly was even in decline.

From 1966 through 1968, there was a discernible pattern in drug use in Haight-Ashbury, a pattern which has relevance in terms of the effectiveness of drug laws. I would advance as a proposition that the volume of use of a drug is determined not by the laws but by the effects of the drug. If a drug is relatively harmless (as with marijuana) its use will spread irrespective of severe laws. If it is harmful its use will be limited despite more lenient laws (as with Methodrine). That heroin, cocaine and the like have not penetrated Haight-Ashbury can probably be explained in terms of the fact that their deleterious effects are well known. Methodrine was an unknown, was tried, and was found to be dangerous, thus, one frequently hears in Haight-Ashbury the admonition that "speed kills."

In summary then, the pattern of use probably reflects the effects of each drug. Marijuana, being relatively mild, is widely used. LSD is much more powerful; a person may have a very good trip or a very bad one, thus its pattern of use is checkered. Methodrine is dangerous, consequently powerful sentiment against it has begun to form. Hippies then are very much predisposed to go beyond tobacco and alcohol in terms of drug use and if what has been said here is correct the pattern of use should be seen as a realistic response to the effects of the drugs available to them.

The Plastic Hippie

Everybody is familiar with the story of King Midas who turned whatever he touched into gold. Ironically, this faculty eventually brings tragedy to his life and with it some insight into the nature of love. In a strange kind of way the story of Midas is relevant in terms of the hippie movement. The hippies repudiate the values of conventional society particularly as these relate to work and commerce. They decry the consumption mania--the ethic and passion which compels people to buy more and more. They grieve that so many people are locked into the system, making or selling things which other people do not need and buying from them equally useless things. The system is such that every man is both victim and victimizer.

Their repudiation of conventional society brought notoriety to the hippies and ironically they themselves became a marketable item, another product to be hawked in the marketplace. And the more they defamed the commercial process the more they became a "hot" commercial item.

Those who used the hippie phenomenon to make money appealed, in part, to an audience which wanted to be titillated and outraged by revelations about sex orgies and dope parties, and, in part, to adolescents and young people who were not inclined themselves to drop out, but who viewed wearing the paraphenalia of the hippie--love beads, head bands, Ben Franklin glasses, leather shirts, etc.--as daring and exciting. These were the plastic hippies.

Any movement runs the risk of becoming merely a fad, of being divested of substance and becoming mostly style. Symbols which at one time might have powerfully expressed outrage at society's oppression and absurdity become merely fashionable and decadent. By spring of 1968, the plastic hippie was common in the land and leather shirts and trousers sold in Haight-Ashbury shops for more than $100. Some of the suits at Brooks Brothers did not cost as much.

The plastic hippies have, unintentionally, had an impact on the hippie movement. First, in one important respect their behavior overlaps with the core behavior of the true hippie--many are users of marijuana. By the summer of 1968 the demand for "grass" had become so great that there was a severe shortage in the Haight-Ashbury. Beyond the obvious consideration of price, the shortage had two consequences: the number of "burns" increased, a burn being the sale of some fraudulent substance--alfalfa, oregano, ordinary tobacco, etc.--as genuine marijuana, and a synthetic marijuana was put on the market.

The pot squeeze and the resulting burns, along with persistent but unsubstantiated rumors that "the Mob' had moved in and taken over the lucrative trade contributed to what was by the summer of 1968 an accelerating sense of demoralization in the Haight-Ashbury community.

The Midnight Hippie

Most hippies are in their teens or early twenties. There are a significant number of people, however, who share a whole complex of values with hippies but who are integrated into the straight world to the extent of having families and careers. Most of these people are in their thirties. They were in college during the 1950's and were non-conformists by the standards of the time. Journalists and commentators of the 1950's decried the apathy of youth and spoke of a "silent generation." These people were part of that minority of youth who were not silent. They were involved even then in civil rights and peace and the other issues which were to engage the passions of youth in the 1960's.

There was no hippie scene into which these people could move. They could have dropped out of school, but there was no Haight-Ashbury for them to drop into. Consequently, they finished school and moved on into the job world. Significantly, many are in professions which can accomodate a certain amount of bohemianism. They teach in colleges and universities and thus avoid working the conventional 9-to-5 day, or work as book salesmen on the college and university circuit. Relatively few are in straight occupations such as engineering or insurance or banking. They are in jobs in which there is some tolerance for new ideas and which facilitate trying out various styles of life.

The midnight hippie provides an important link between straight society and the hippie world. Straights find hippies strange, weird, or disgusting. Therefore he views any action taken against them as justified. The midnight hippie, on the other hand, looks straight. He has a straight job and does not evoke the same immediate hostility from the straight that the hippie does. The midnight hippie's relative social acceptance allows him to articulate and justify the hippie point of view with at least some possibility of being listened to and believed.

Hippie culture was not static. We came upon it at a time when it was in crisis and consequently our attention was drawn to those organizations which had come into existence to deal with the crisis. In a sense, they seemed to be the only integrating institutions in the subculture. They held it together. To understand the subculture entails understanding these organizations.

Hippie Helpers

In the last two years a new kind of social agency has appeared, developing outside of the traditional social service network. These are the hippie helpers. Housed in old apartments, church basements or store fronts, in physical appearance and organizational structure they differ from establishment agencies./6/ The following is a description of the hippie helpers in terms of origins, structure and patterns of offering help, and relationships with the institutionalized service network./7/ Much of the description is based on observations in two such agencies in Portland and San Francisco and briefer visits to other agencies in both cities. Counterparts to these agencies exist in other cities with hippie populations. This description can be viewed as a contribution to an account of the hippie phenomenon itself. It is also relevant to the problem of dropping out, not only out of school, but out of other traditional social patterns. Many of the hippie helpers are hoping to find for themselves alternative styles of life, more satisfying and more socially meaningful than the middle class suburban pattern which they reject.

The needs of the hippie community are similar to the needs of any other community. The needs that the hippie helpers mobilize to meet are those that hippies cannot meet through currently available mechanisms because of certain decisions they have made about their style of life. The hippie decision to leave the straight world and live outside of the system means, in many cases, to live on a very small amount of money. Communication immediately becomes a problem. Very poor people cannot afford telephones. Hippy poor people also may not have an established residence, so they have no place to receive mail. One of the central functions of a number of hippie helpers is, then, to act as a communication channel both within the hippie community and between that community and the outside world. Communication with the outside world sometimes involves interpretation of the hippie view to the non-hip. Interpretation is a short step from advocacy, and hippie helpers may get involved in the defense of the rights of hippies.

Hippie life-styles also involve a rejection of the usual patterns of meeting people and making friends--at least the organized patterns. This is another function of the hippie helpers, although they are not the only alternate mechanism which serves this purpose. The creative use of open spaces--parks and streets, in particular--has been elaborated by hippies. These open spaces do provide meeting grounds, substituting for the dance and the basketball game. Hippie helpers supplement this, providing easy going, relaxed places where anyone can walk in, sit down and talk for awhile. The hippie helpers' emphasis on informal communication is consistent with a central hippie theme--that one of the main troubles with people is that they're not open, not real, don't say what they mean, in short they don't communicate.

The rejection of the straight world includes a reluctance to use its services, especially where there is the fear that use might result in massive diapproval and a forcible return to that world. Factors of this kind have been important in meeting the medical needs of hippies and help to account for the development of hippie clinics (although other factors are also, undoubtedly,important). As one informant put it, "They don't want to go to the clinic up on the hill because they hastle them about drugs and call their parents."

These are the primary needs, then, which stimulated the formation of various hippie helper groups. These needs are for communication within the hippie community, communication with the outside, the establishment of personal relationships or social interaction, and the need for medical care. Other needs, such as for housing and food, are also met to some extent by the hippie helpers, although these activities are limited by the lack of money.

The originating perceptions of needs in the hippie communities seem to have developed within the communities themselves, on the scene. Those who initiated services were either to some extent part of the hippie scene themselves, or they were close observers of the scene through their work--ministers, for example. The point here is that needs were seen and means for meeting them invented within the hippie scene, rather than through the intervention of outside agents--planners from a council of social agencies, for example.

Hippie helpers originated, often, in the efforts of one person. Energetic, dedicated, individualistic, these founders are both entrepreneurs and leaders. Fund raising, organizing, helping and often speaking for a despised deviant group, these leaders recruit others to do the daily work of keeping an organization going. In some cases these founders had moved on to new projects, but were still consulted over difficult problems. Some of these problems are discussed below.

Hippie helping agencies vary in the degree to which they have a formal organizational structure. The tendency is away from formal structure and away from formal requirements for staff positions. A description of the least structured agency we observed illustrates both the lack of formal structure and the patterns of offering help. This group of hippie helpers was installed in an old store in the middle of the hippie settlement. The glass windows were covered with posters and announcements, advertising everything from the local Planned Parenthood clinic to the next rock concert in the park. Inside, the scene was a dilapidated but still comfortable living room. A few old chairs, a picnic table and benches, an old bookcase and a desk were the furnishings. One wall was almost completely covered by a bulletin board on which hung hand lettered notices under various headings: Jobs, Messages, Rides, Free Services. This was the communication center. As they came in, new arrivals usually looked casually at the board to see what was changed that day. A telephone was also prominent in the room and was usually in use. There was a back room, where traveling hippies sometimes left their packs, where people occasionally slept and where clients were sometimes taken for interviews. There were usually from ten to fifteen people in the room, sometimes more. They sat around and talked to each other; occasionally someone had a guitar and there was some singing. There were many arrivals and departures. It was a place where old friends met and exchanged the news and a place where a newcomer could quickly find out what was going on. Strangers were usually approached informally, sooner or later, by a member of the staff. In appearance, the staff was little different from others. Much of their time was spent sitting and talking also. Much information and advice giving was done in the context of social conversations. Staff were a little older than most of the clients, but they were residents of the area and hip people. All except one were volunteers; this one worked long hours for a small subsistence allowance. He, however, was not the leader. The leader and organizer of the agency spent little time there, although he kept in close touch with daily events, stopping in several times a day to check on how things were going.

Leadership in this agency was charismatic. One person made all important decisions and maintained most of the ties with the community outside. He also kept most of the information about contacts, previous decisions, etc., in his head, so that other staff had to consult him on almost every issue. Recruitment to the staff was usually on the basis of personal contact with the leader or with another staff member. Qualifications for work seemed to be primarily personal--sympathy with hippies, a degree of stability, liking to talk to other people. There were no criteria such as education or experience.

Role requirements within this agency were also extremely flexible. There was little clear specification of who was to do what or of how it was to be done. We observed a graphic example of this. A young boy, a run-away, who was already known by some of the hippie helpers, came into the agency. After a short conversation with him, the person nominally in charge for the day said to the assembled group, "Who wants to do some counseling?" An older girl responded and took the boy into the back room to talk to him.

Along with the flexibility in role requirements and qualifications was a lack of categorization of need. That is, there was a tendency in this agency, as well as in others which we observed, to give or to try to give any kind of help that is requested, rather than to provide only certain kinds of help. There are extreme limitations on this tendency, limitations of knowledge, facilities, and money. In principle, however, almost no request for help would be turned down. And if the needed help could not be provided some attempt at referral to other resources would be made. Only those things which might put the organization into legal jeopardy tended to be denied. Even here there is an area of flexibility. This will be discussed further below in the section on relationships with the organized community.

The informal organization of the hippie helpers has both advantages and disadvantages for the helpers themselves and for those who come around for help. For the helpers, there is considerable freedom on action, freedom to improvise approaches to problems. There is also the opportunity for people without experience or training to do a helping job. Since volunteers who are highly committed to the project work as hippie helpers, a strong esprit de corps develops among them. Thus, there is the probability that the group experience will itself be satisfying. This sort of volunteer work has some of the attractions of VISTA and the Peace Corps.

There are obvious disadvantages, however. Hippie helper leadership is entrepreneurial; decision making and information are centralized in the leader. This restricts the independence of the lower level worker, by maintaining his dependence on the leader. There also seems to be little security and stability for the lower level worker. One of the most striking things about these organizations and their staffs is their transitoriness.

The approach to offering help in these agencies seems to maximize the possibility that this particular client group will be receptive to it. The non-structured and informal approach of the hippie helpers creates an atmosphere within which those who have rejected the sterility and coldness of large scale organizations feel comfortable and relaxed. It is possible, therefore, for them to ask for and take help in such surroundings. The formality of waiting rooms, receptionists, and offices are part of the world they are rejecting. It is unlikely that they will go back to the official guardians of that world unless they are completely unable to take care of themselves. A danger to the prospective client is inherent in this situation, however. Since there are none of the controls on the individual worker which come from bureaucratic and/or professional norms, there is a greater chance that the personal interests of the worker, rather than the interests of the client, may guide the problem solution.

Staff of the indigenous hippie helping organizations can, for purposes of this discussion, be separated into two categories, the leaders and the followers. Individuals in both of these categories have rejected the traditional career pattern of the straight world and are critical of the restrictions of the formal structure of complex organizations. At the same time, there are a number of differences between leaders and followers.

The leaders to whom we talked in the course of this research seemed to be of two types. Either they were themselves dropouts from the normal career pattern, or they were aggressive and independent careerists essentially tied to the legitimate organizational network but with sympathy for the hippies. Leaders, dropouts and non-dropouts, seem to be energetic idea men who are involved in several projects simultaneously. They deal with the surrounding community, fending off attacks from the establishment, and also raising money from sections of that world. These leaders seem to be risk takers, entrepreneurs of the underground, carving out small domains for themselves. They have found an area of autonomous operation in the hippie helping business which they probably would not have found in a more tightly organized structure.

Followers, on the other hand, appear to be somewhat different. Having also rejected the organizations of the broader society, they are people who want to make a contribution to other people, who want to help. Underlying motivations are undoubtedly complex, and we did not study these. However, in the general approach to their activities, these hippie helpers seem to be similar to other young people doing volunteer, helping kinds of jobs. Some of them think of themselves as observers of the hippie scene rather than actual participants. Others are using hippie helping as a means of personal salvation--i.e. a number of these are former addicts whose dedication to helping others is part of their rehabilitation.

One of the most consistent observations of the hippie helpers was the frequency and bitterness of the criticisms of other hippie helpers. This was particularly true of the leaders, although followers also had serious criticisms of others involved in the same efforts. Complaints focused on motivations, competence and honesty. Accompanying these complaints were frequent descriptions of very competent performance on the part of the individual's own hippie helping group. There were other kinds of displays of particular skills which seemed to be for the benefit of the observers. In the terminology of the hip world, these people were on an ego trip.

How can the personality clashes, the competition and jealousy within this small group of hippie helpers be explained? One factor in any explanation must be the marginal position of these agencies. They are operating on extremely low budgets, drawing on a resource pool which is probably quite small. Not only is the amount of available money small, it is also extremely uncertain. Funding, then is a major problem of these agencies and much of the leader's function lies in the competition for very scarce resources. Criticisms of competitors is part of the process. The characteristics of the leaders described above also contribute to the internecine strife that seems to go on in this section of the hippie world.

Funding problems are constant factors for many other social service agencies. They have, most recently, been an important element in the operating difficulties of many of the new "poverty" agencies. We suggest that these difficulties are greatly magnified for the hippie helpers, partly because they have great difficulty in establishing their legitimacy in the wider community and, consequently, do not have access to the usual sources of funds in the community. This, of course, varies with the individual hippie helping organizations. Some of them have some connections with established and respectable groups, such as churches. Others have developed fund raising programs, complete with long mailing lists, which are not different from the fund raising operations of completely legitimate groups.

The instituionalized control system of every city in which there is a hippie population is very concerned about this group. The police, public health and welfare department, psychiatrists, and clinics, among others, are either attempting to control or to help hippies. The hippie helpers which we have described are often mediators between the hippies and this established service network. This is an uncomfortable and insecure position. The hippie helpers are caught in a familiar dilemma. (This type of conflict is particularly familiar in the role of the street worker with delinquent groups.) They must maintain relationships with the organized network and with the hippie client group, but the demands of each relationship are threatening to the stability of the other.

We will examine briefly this particular example of this widespread dilemma. Hippie helpers are in potential trouble over two areas in the law--one is the law pertaining to drugs, the other is the law pertaining to minors. The possession and use of marijuana and most other drugs used by hippies is a felony in most jurisdictions. Yet, most hippies, and their helpers, use or have used various drugs; they do not view drug use as harmful or immoral, at least when the use is moderate. The helpers are potentially very vulnerable to the charge that they encourage drug use. They are open to prosecution if drugs are found on the premises. The resolution of this problem for the hippie helpers is to make and enforce rules prohibiting the possession and use of drugs on the premises of the helping organization itself, but to refrain from any attempts to reform their clients. Indeed, such attempts would be impossible for many hippie helpers, since they share the attitudes towards drugs of their clients. Even those helpers who may not share the acceptance of drug use refrain from pushing their point of view in order to avoid alienating those who have come for help. Of course, if asked for help with drug problems, hippie helpers will do what they can. This laissez-faire stance on drug use, while necessary, does create a potential threat to the agency.

Runaway minors create another conflict situation for hippie helpers. The problem is both legal and professional. In most jurisdictions, the sheltering of a runaway minor without the permission of his parents is a felony. Hippie helpers are, therefore, very vulnerable to attack in this area also. They seem, as a consequence, to be careful not to do anything in regard to minors which would put them in jeopardy. In practice, they are very careful not to give overnight shelter to a minor without the parent's permission. More serious dilemmas arise in connection with giving information about people, especially children, for whom the police are looking. Giving information could destroy any helping relationship which has developed. Failure to give information could seriously strain the ties with the establishment agency; ties which may be necessary to carry out the communication function of the hippie helpers; ties which may be necessary to get other kinds of help for hippie clients.

Personnel in establishment agencies which provide services to hippies also experience these stresses. Special personnel assigned to work with hippies in welfare departments and police departments experience role conflict generated by the requirements of successful work with a deviant group. If they are too zealous in carrying out the law and their own agency regulations, they damage their relationships with both the hippie helpers and the hippie clients. If they do not carry out the law, they are, of course, open to attack and censure. Some are able to maintain this precarious balance. Others are converted to the hippie perspective and drop out themselves. Still others adopt a more and more judgmental and establishment evaluation of the hippies. The precarious adaptation between the two worlds is a very difficult one to maintain. One very successful adaptor, who had managed to maintain a position in the traditional organizational structure and, at the same time, maintain the confidence of the hippie community, was planning on leaving the scene as soon as possible.

Although a description provides no basis for prediction, we can speculate about the future of the hippie helpers. Our prediction is that the hippie helpers will evolve into more bureaucratically organized structure with close ties to the institutionalized service network or that they will disappear. At the same time that organizational structure becomes more defined, they will become less and less able to meet the needs of the hippie group. Our contention is that the demands of effective organization are inconsistent with the needs and demands of hippies. This can be interpreted as a conflict between the survival needs of these organizations and some of their effectiveness needs.

To survive and to be effective, hippie helpers need money and they need insulation from the attacks of the establishment. In order to get money, they must offer services which are seen as useful to the wider community. These services involve control over the hippie population in favor of the values of the wider community. Unless there is modification of the values of the wider community, there will be continuing pressure on hippie helpers to take actions which could alienate them from their clients.

The very process of definition of services reduces the flexibility of the organization and, thus, its attractiveness to hippies as a place to which anyone who needs help can go. But, flexibility and lack of eligibility requirements, by themselves, have limited utility if the resources (material and professional) are lacking. As more resources are put into such services, there will be inevitable pressures to account for the use of these resources and to make the use more efficient. The demands of efficiency will make inroads on the informal, casual atmosphere and operating procedures. Some of these processes can already be seen in some of the hippie helping agencies--in particular, the definition of function and the consequent rejection of hippies whose needs do not meet the function of the agency.

The demands for efficiency will probably also lead to more hired staff and fewer volunteers. Volunteers are just as unreliable among the hippie helpers as they are in other types of agencies. A continuous service requires committed personnel. Although some volunteers put their service as hippie helpers first among their commitments, this seems to be a minority.

Conflicts around the problem of confidentiality also contribute to instability. Hippie helpers have none of the protections enjoyed by doctors and lawyers in regard to privileged information. Their position is similar to that of social workers, but more precarious. Hippie helpers work in organizations which often do not have community sanction and they are seen as aiding and abetting a deviant group. Social workers, on the other hand, do have the protection of employment in organizations which are usually viewed as legitimate by the community. Although they are certainly often in the position of knowing about illegal behavior of their clients, the whole organization does not usually come under attack if that behavior becomes public.

There seems to be a high degree of commitment among hippie helpers which helps to counteract these pressures. However, the older organizations which we observed were more highly structured than the new ones. In addition, there have been a number of hippie helping groups which have existed briefly and then have disappeared. This evidence leads us to think that the predictions made above are fairly well grounded. There is, at the same time, increasing evidence that people feel the need for more direct participation, for more activities which are not confined to the fragmented bureaucratic roles which our society generally offers. Perhaps the hippie helpers are an indication of the beginnings of new and more flexible organizational forms.

In summary then the culture was complex and if one may depart from the objectivity of the social scientist, no ignoble in its purposes, the stresses and strains within it affected the motivations of those who had dropped out. This discussion of the subculture provides a context. Now let us discuss the hippie college dropout.

Vertical and Lateral Deviance

Let us now attempt to understand hippie subculture in theoretical terms. It was hypothesized that the hippie college dropout was attracted by the expressive elements of hippie subculture. To fully grasp the importance and implications of this let us very briefly develop a theory of deviance.

The literature of sociology is rich in theories of deviance. Some focus on "cause," as for example, the delinquency theories of Cloward and Ohlin which suggest that lower class boys in the face of inadequate opportunities to realize middle class goals resort to various forms of unlawful behavior. Others deal with the process whereby a person learns to be a deviant, Howard Becker's popular paper, "Becoming a Marijuana User," being a major example.

In the approach taken here I identify two types of deviance: vertical and lateral, the dimensions of each type seem to be useful in differentiating the hippies from earlier bohemians, and in reaching conclusions about their future.

Vertical and lateral deviance occur in the context of social systems which make differentiations according to rank, i.e., officer-recruit, teacher-student, adult-child, boss-employee, guard-convict, and so on. Inevitably certain privileges and prerogatives attach to the superior ranks. That is one of the things which makes them superior. Adults can smoke, consume alcoholic beverages, obtain drivers' licenses, vote, and do a host of other things which are denied children or teenagers.

Vertical deviance occurs when persons in a subordinate rank attempt to enjoy the privileges and prerogatives of those in a superior rank. Thus, the ten-year old who sneaks behind the garage to smoke is engaging in a for of vertical deviance, as is the fourteen-year old who drives a car despite being too young to get a license and the sixteen-year old who bribes a twenty-two year old to buy him a six-pack of beer. They are attempting to indulge themselves in ways deemed not appropriate for persons of their rank.

Lateral deviance occurs when persons in a subordinate rank develop their own standards and norms apart from and opposed to those of persons in a superior rank. Thus, the teenager who smokes pot rather than Chesterfield is engaging in lateral deviance as is the seventeen-year old girl who runs away to live in a commune rather than eloping with the boy next door. Lateral deviance occurs in a context in which the values of the non-deviant are rejected. The pot smoking seventeen-year old wearing Ben Franklin eyeglasses and an earring does not share his parents' definition of the good life. Whereas value consensus characterizes vertical deviances, there is a certain kind of value dissensus involved in lateral deviance. It may be a matter then not simply that hippies were deviant but more importantly that the nature of their deviance involved affiliation with an expressive subculture which entailed a rejection of the most basic values of the large culture.

Let us explore the implications of these two types of deviance.

Where vertical deviance occurs power ultimately remains with the privileged. The rule breaker wants what they have. They can control him by gradually extending prerogatives to him in return for conforming behavior. They have the power to offer condition rewards and in that way can control and shape the deviant's behavior. The sixteen-year old is told that he can take the car if he behaves himself at home. Where lateral deviance occurs the possibility of conditional rewards being used to induce conformity disappears. The deviant does not want what the privileged have, therefore they cannot control him by promising to let him "have a little taste." From the standpoint of the privileged the situation becomes an extremely difficult one to handle. Value dissensus removes a powerful lever for inducing conformity. The impotent, incoherent rage so often expressed by adults towards hippies possibly derives from this source.

A letter to the editor of the Portland Oregonian exemplifies this barely controlled anger.

> Why condone this rot and filth that is "hippie" in this beautiful city of ours? Those who desecrate our flag, refuse to work, flaunt their sexual freedom, spread their filthy diseases and their garbage in public parks are due no charitable consideration. The already overloaded taxpayer picks up the bill.
>
> If every city so afflicted would give them a bum's rush out of town, eventually with no place to light, they might just wake up to find how stupid and disgusting they are. Their feeling of being so clever and original might fade into reality. They might wake up and change their tactics./8/

The second implication follows from the first. Being unable to maintain control via conditional rewards the parent, adult, or whatever, is forced to adopt more coercive tactics. This, of course, has the consequences of further estranging the deviant. What constitutes coercion varies with the situation and can range all the way from locking a teenage girl in her room to setting the police on anyone with long hair and love beads. Lateral deviance has a certain potential for polarization built into it then. To the extent that polarization takes place the deviant becomes more committed to his deviance.

The third implication follows from the first two and allows us to differentiate hippies from earlier bohemians. Bennett Berger, the sociologist, contends that the bohemians of the 1920's and the hippies of the 1960's are similar as regards ideology. Borrowing from Malcolm Cowley's Exile's Return, he identifies a number of seemingly common elements in the thinking of the two groups, and, following Cowley, suggests that bohemians since the mid-nineteenth century have tended to subscribe to the same set of ideas. The ideology of bohemianism includes: the idea of salvation by the child, an emphasis on self-expression, the notion that the body is a temple where there is nothing unclean, a belief in living for the moment, and in female equality and liberty, and in the possibility of perceiving new levels of reality. There is also a love of the people and places presumably still unspoiled by the corrupt values of society. The noble savages may be Negroes or Indians or Mexicans. The exotic places may be Paris or Tangier or Tahiti or Big Sur./9/

I would dispute his analysis and contend that the differences between the hippies and the lost generation are quite profound. The deviant youth of the 1920's simply lived out what many "squares" of the time considered the exciting life--the life of the "swinger." Their's was a kind of deviance which largely accepted society's definitions of the bad and the beautiful. Lawrence Lipton contrasted values of the lost generation with those of the beatniks, but his remarks are even more appropriate in terms of the differences between the lost generation and the hippies.

> Ours was not the dedicated poverty of the present-day beat. We coveted expensive illustrated editions and bought them when we had the ready cash, even if it meant going without other things. We wanted to attend operas and symphony concerts, even if it meant a seat up under the roof in the last gallery or ushering the rich to their seats in the "diamond horseshoe" . . . we had disaffiliated ourselves from the rat race . . . but we had not rejected the rewards of the rat race. We had expensive tastes and we meant to indulge them, even if we had to steal books from the bookstores where we worked, or shoplift or run up bills on charge accounts that we never intended to pay, or borrow money from banks and leave our co-signers to pay it back with interest. We were no sandal and sweatshirt set. We liked to dress well, if unconventionally, and sometimes exotically, especially the girls. We lived perforce on crackers and cheese most of the time but we talked like gourmets, and if we had a windfall we spent the money in the best restaurants in town, treating our friends in a show of princely largess./10/

Could they have been more unlike the hippies? The lost generation was engaging in vertical deviance. They wanted the perquisites of the good life but did not want to do the things necessary to get them. They were a generation which had seen its ranks severely decimated in World War I and, having some sense of the temporal nature of existence, possibly did not want to wait their turn to live the beautiful life. Their deviance was at least comprehensible to their elders. They wanted what any "normal" person would want.

From 1957 through 1960 the beat movement flourished, its major centers being the North Beach section of San Francisco and Greenwich Village in New York. The beat movement and the hippie movement are sufficiently close in time for the same individual to have participated in both. Ned Polsky, writing about the Greenwich Village beat scene in 1960, indicated that ". . . the attitudes of beats in their thirties have spread rapidly downward all the way to the very young teenagers (13-15) . . ."/11/ It is unlikely then that some hippies began as beats. There are several reasons for suggesting beat influence on the hippie movement. The beat indictment of society is very much like that of the hippies. Lipton recounted Kenneth Rexroth's observations on the social system and its values.

> . . . as Kenneth Rexroth has put it, you can't fill the heads of young lovers with "buy me the new five-hundred dollar deep-freeze and I'll love you" advertising propaganda without poisoning the very act of love itself; you can't hop up your young people with sadism in the movies and television and train them to commando tactics in the army camps to say nothing of brutalizing them in

> wars and then expect to "untense" them with Coca Cola and Y.M.C.A. hymn sings. Because underneath . . . the New Capitalism . . . and Prosperity Unlimited--lies the ugly fact of an economy geared to war production, a design, not for living, but for death./12/

Like the hippie a decade later, the beat dropped out. He disaffiliated himself, disaffiliation being "a voluntary self-alienation from the family cult, from moneytheism and all its works and ways." He spoke of a New Poverty as the answer to the New Prosperity, indicating that "It is important to make a living but it is even more important to make a life."

Both the hippie and the beat engage in lateral deviance. Their behavior is incomprehensible to the square. Why would anyone want to live in poverty? Given the nature of their deviance they cannot be seduced back into squareness. Lipton recounts the remarks of a beat writer to the square who offered him an advertising job, "I'll scrub your floors and carry your slops to make a living, but I will not lie for you, pimp for you, stool for you, or rat for you."/13/

The values of beats and hippies are virtually identical; the two movements differ principally with regard to social organization. Hippies have attempted to form a community. There were beat enclaves in San Francisco and New York but no beat community. The difference between a ghetto and a community is relevant in terms of understanding the difference between the two movements. In a ghetto there is rarely any sense of common purpose or identity. Every man is prey to every other man. In a community certain shared goals and values generate personal involvement for the common good. Haight-Ashbury was a kind of community in the beginning but degenerated into a ghetto. Significantly however, more viable rural communities have been established by hippies in response to the failure of urban experiment. The beats neither had any concept of community nor any dream of transforming society.

Given their attempt to establish a viable community the hippies will probably survive longer than the beats and should have a more profound impact upon the society. As has been indicated, if a society fails to seduce the lateral deviant away from his deviance it may move to cruder methods (police harassment, barely veiled incitements to hoodlums to attack the deviants, etc.). A functioning community can both render assistance to the deviant in the face of these assaults and sustain his commitment to the values which justify and explain his deviance.

The beats then have influenced the hippies. Their beliefs are very similar and there is probably an overlap in membership. The hippies' efforts to estabish self-supporting communities suggest, however, that their movement will survive longer than did that of the beats.

There were a number of different hippie types. Some were attracted to the subculture for its values and style of life, others were into it as a fad. The hippie movement involved what has been termed "lateral deviance." It was suggested that the attraction of the subculture lay mainly in its peculiarly expressive nature. It is not a matter that the culture of squares is wholly instrumental but, rather, that in order to indulge the expressive elements of that culture one has to earn it via instrumentally meaningful acts. The hippies repudiated those acts and gravitated to a subculture in which expressveness was not conditional to the fulfillment of certain societal expectations with regard to "responsible behavior." It is suggested in this section also that there were certain instrumental requirements for hippie subculture itself to service, but the large emphasis on the expressive undermined the willingness of participants in that subculture to carry through those acts. Consequently the subculture (for this and for other reasons) began to disintegrate.

The value of conceptualizing hippie behavior as lateral deviance involving a certain kind of expressiveness lies in a) clarifying why the subculture experienced internal organizational problems, b) why it fascinated many straights and repelled others, and c) possibly, it appealed to so many young people.

With this background, we now discuss the hippie college dropout.

FOOTNOTES: THE HIPPIE MOVEMENT

1. During the 1950's the term "hipster" was used by beatniks and those familiar with the beat scene. It had several meanings. The hipster was an individual whose attitude toward the square world (a steady job, material acquisitions, etc.) was one of contempt. He shared with beats an appreciation of jazz-cum-poetry, drugs and casual sex. The hipster might also be a kind of con-man, sustaining his participation in the beat scene by some hustle practiced on squares. The word "hip" identified this orientation. Hip and "hep" were common words in the jivetalk of the 1940's, both indicated familiarity with the world of jazz musicians, hustlers and other colorful but disreputable types. I suspect the word hippie derives from hipster which in turn probably derived from hip or hep.

2. Interestingly, Martin Buber in Paths in Utopia suggested that the example of the Kibbutz might transform the rest of society. The values of the Kibbutzim and the hippie movement are not dissimilar.

3. We shall have occasion to speak frequently of "straights." The derivation of the word is even more obscure than that of hippie. At one time it had positive connotations, meaning a person who was honest or forthright. "He's a straight, man," meant that the referrent was a person to be trusted. As used in the hippie world straight has a variety of mildly to strongly negative connotations. In its mildest form, it simply means an individual who does not partake of the behavior of a given subculture (such as that of homosexuals or marijuana users). In its strongest form it refers to the individual who does not participate and who is also very hostile to the subculture.

4. Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd, Vintage Books, New York, 1960, pp. 25-26.

5. Marijuana, also known as "weed," "pot," "grass," "mary jane," "reefers," etc. is not addictive. It is one of a number of natural hallucinogens, some can be found around any home: jimson weed, Hawaiin wood roses, common sage, nutmeg, Morning Glory seeds, etc. There are claims in Haight-Ashbury that the dried seeds of the Bluebonnet, the state flower of Texas, has a trip effect. In California it is called Lupin and grows wild alongside the highways, as does the Scotchbroom, another highly praised drug.

6. There are some similarities between the hippie helpers and self-help groups such as organizations of the disabled. Staffing by members or former members of the category may create an empathy between helper and helped which is absent in professional relationships. That this does not always occur is being discovered in some community organization projects in which "indigenous workers" are used.

7. Established health and welfare agencies in cities with a hippie population are concerned about their problems. Hospitals, welfare departments, Traveler's Aid and others give assistance to hippies. In some cases, new services have been developed to serve this population. We are not concerned in this paper, with the adaptations of on-going agencies. Rather, we discuss only the new agencies.

8. _The Portland Oregonian_, July 31, 1968, p. 22.

9. Bennett Berger, "Hippie Morality--More Old than New," _Transaction_, Vol. V, No. 2, Dec. 1967, pp. 19-20.

10. Lawrence Lipton, _The Holy Barbarians_, Grove Press, New York, 1959, p. 284.

11. Ned Polsky, "The Village Beat Scene: Summer 1960," _Dissent_, Vol. III, No. 3, Summer, 1960, p. 341.

12. Lipton, _op. cit._, p. 150.

13. _Loc. cit._

Our conclusions with regard to the relationship between hippie subculture and dropping out of college can be summed up as follows:

1. College deans do not perceive hippies as either creating problems on campus or as having affected the dropout rate, rather they were concerned about the new left and about militant black students.
2. Hippies do not repudiate scholarship per se, but rather question whether the university creates the opportunity to learn.
3. Many hippies who have been in college have the intention of going back to finish their work.
4. Most interviewees claimed satisfactory academic performance, but indicated the lack of "meaning" in the work played a role in dropping out. Many seem to have disorganized college careers, however (a number of majors, disputes with teachers, etc.).
5. College is seen mainly as a way of getting a degree which then serves as a "union card" rather than a place where one goes to learn. In other words, the orientation is instrumental.
6. While in college most hippies were social science and humanities majors. That is, their initial college careers probably reflect expressive values.
7. Hippies had no clear ideas with regard to university reform but rather spoke in generalities about the need for change.
8. Younger hippies express more bitterness toward the high school experience than older hippies do toward the college experience.

Below each of these conclusions is enlarged upon.

The College Interviews

The research committed us to an attempt to determine the extent to which the dropout problem has changed in scope and style. Consequently interviews were conducted with deans of students or deans of men at nine San Francisco Bay area colleges. The colleges represented a cross-section of the institutions of higher learning found in the area. Stanford is an elite private school, the University of California at Berkeley, an elite public school. Foothill Junior College and the College of San Mateo are suburban two-year institutions, while Merritt Junior College draws more heavily from a population of low-income blacks. San Francisco State College is in the heart of the metropolis, and has a very heterogeneous student body and a history of political activism. San Jose State College is on the southern rim of the metropolis, has a much more homogeneous student body who traditionally have been much more interested in beer parties than politics. The University of San Francisco is a Catholic institution and Mills College, a private girls' school.

Naturally there were differences among the interviewees, but nevertheless a high degree of consistency was found in their observations on the hippie movement and on trends among students.

Below I have summarized the results of the interviews.

The problems facing college deans were graphically illustrated the day Dean William Walsh of San Mateo Community College was interviewed. While the interview was in progress two not entirely unconnected protests were being conducted in and around the student cafeteria. New left and black students were holding a peace rally outside the cafeteria while inside a number of policemen who took courses at the school were staging a protest over a ruling that they could not wear firearms while on the campus in the role of student.

The interview was punctuated by cries and alarms from outside and several times had to be broken off as the dean rushed first one place and then the other in the attempt to maintain order.

Dean Walsh's problems were not unique; they were simply more dramatic at that point than those facing other deans. Uniformly they viewed their difficulties as flowing not from hippies but from the new left and militant blacks. The problems of San Francisco State and the University of California at Berkeley are well known; at Stanford, political and race protest had taken the form of peace rallies and demands for black oriented courses such as Swahili. At Foothill Junior College it had been expressed in demands for greater student participation in decision-making. San Jose State College had undergone a series of demonstrations in the fall of 1967 revolving around the Vietnamese war and the need to change curricula to more accurately reflect the needs and culture of black and Mexican-American students. Merritt Junior College had seen a contest between moderate and militant slates of blacks for office in student government.

In varying ways, using somewhat different terminology, the deans differentiated between persons who seemed to be genuinely committed to the core values of hippie subculture, those who wore the paraphenalia but were not really committed to it, and those who were basically political in their orientation.

Dean Harry Bradley of Foothill Junior College observed that,

> The hippie is a dropout and a drug user. The political types are draft resisters. The closest thing we have to new left are kids who have fought for student rights and gotten them. The genuine hippie is rare. We have some who live on the beach and work here just enough to get something to eat. But there are not more than a dozen of them.

Dean Stanley Nenz of San Jose State College echoed this.

> The true hippie is just as alienated (as members of the new left), but he withdraws from the system. If you ask me which I would want to have on campus, as an administrator I would have to say the hippie, but if he is a true hippie he would probably not want to be here.

There was no perception of a change in the dropout rate or in the reasons given by students for dropping out. The dean at Stanford

University counseled students contemplating leaving school and did not believe that the hippie phenomenon had made an impact on the dropout rate.

On campus the impact of the movement could be seen mainly in terms of style of dress and in an upsurge in the use of drugs, particularly marijuana. The tormented Dean Walsh of San Mateo Community College, between bolts out the door to attempt to passify the new left and black students staging the peace rally and the policemen demanding to be allowed to carry their firearms into the classroom, pulled from the drawer of his desk a jar containing leafy material which he identified as marijuana, indicating that it had only shortly before been found in the student cafeteria. One began to think of his torment as Walsh Agonistes.

The pattern varied somewhat from school to school, marijuana seemed to be less important at Merritt Junior College than black power. Problems of a new left-black power coalition which characterized student politics of the radical sort on other campuses were not really important there, as the differences principally were between various factions of black students.

The University of California at Berkeley and San Francisco State College were regarded as pace setters with the other schools following at varying distances in their wake. San Jose State College, a school with a reputation for being a Dick Powell-1930's musical kind of institution was rapidly moving up, while the University of San Francisco managed successfully to stay somewhere near the rear.

The deans indicated that their schools were already responding in various ways to what were seen as the major grievances of an increasing number of students. Thus, San Francisco State College had an experimental college in which courses of a sort not ordinarily found in the curriculum could be offered by people not ordinarily regarded as "qualified." Foothill Junior College on the one hand had just left the nineteenth century and attempted to step into the twenty-first.

Dean Bradley indicated that,

> We had stringent rules with regard to dress up until last year. The students rebelled and things looked like they were going to get out of hand. We told them to take it before the Board of Trustees and the board recommended changes which were more liberal than those the administration had recommended. That one thing helped us more than anything else though because it showed the students they could work through the system.
>
> We also have an experimental college here now in its second year. It arose partly in response to student demands and partly as a matter of copying other schools. It operates within the purview of the college. It is not off campus. The classes

> may be taught by anyone but there must be a faculty sponsor. They have covered all the topics--war, sex, drugs, race.

The innovations have taken the form of reducing the rigidity of curricula and increasing student participation in decision-making. Occasionally students were offered opportunities for meaningful experience while on campus. Thus the College of San Mateo found that its politically active and seemingly nonconformist students took an enthusiastic part in the school's College Readiness Program, a program intended to offer pre-baccalauriate training to black and other minority group students in order to phase them into the regular college program.

In summary, the deans did not feel that the dropout rate had changed as a result of the hippie phenomenon. Some of them were involved in counseling students and did not discern that there had been changes in the reasons given for dropping out. They were aware of increasing student discontent and viewed new left and militant black students as the major sources of demands. They seemed to believe that their schools were responding in a reasonable manner to changes and viewed the changes which had been made (experimental colleges, pass/no pass options, etc.) as sufficient.

They suggested then that there was little reason to believe that the hippie movement had affected the dropout rate and some of them indicated that even had there been a change in dropout rate due to the upsurge of the hippie movement, it probably would not be reflected in the records kept by schools as these simply employ conventional categories for students who leave.

Given that the dropout rate might have remained the same while the reasons for dropping out had changed dramatically, the basic question then to which the research addressed itself remained unanswered after the interviews with the college deans. At this point field work in Haight-Ashbury was undertaken and data were gathered both on the dimensions of the subculture and on the attitudes of young people living in the community. The balance of this chapter is given over to a discussion of this interview data.

The Hippie College Dropout

Let me begin by giving some background on the respondents. For purposes of description I will deal with the runaways encountered at Huckleberry's separately. They formed a rather different group as will be evident when the data are presented.

The mean age of those respondents for whom the data is avilable (62) who were not encountered at Huckleberry House was 23.2 years. The range was 17 years to 33 years, the mode was 21 years and the median, 22 years and 9 months.

The mean age of the subjects talked to at Huckleberry's was 15.1 years. There were seven cases, their ages being 13, 14, 15 (3), and 17 (2), Huckleberry's did not admit anyone over 17.

It was a predominantly male culture as one might have discerned from social gatherings and from the crowds on the street. In our group there were 43 males and 19 females. The Huckleberry group consisted of four males and three females.

The data on class background are less complete than would be desired. Of the 36 cases for which the information is available, half had fathers who were professionals (attorney, accountant, physicist, college professor), 8 were self-employed businessmen, 7 were manual laborers, 1 was retired from the Navy, and 2 owned farms.

There were very few Negroes on the scene and none in our population. It had been our impression before going into the field that there would be a good many transplanted New Yorkers in Haight-Ashbury. This turned out not to be true possibly owing to the fact that New York had its own hippie community on the lower east side in what came to be called "The East Village."

It was clear from the data that those people who commented more freely on background were from families in which the head or heads-of-household were professional. If they were not professional they were at least white collar. It was probably the case that those people who were less open about background were less likely to have come from white collar backgrounds. The people who did not volunteer the information were in general the less articulate among the group.

The Huckleberry group, on the other hand, was heavily blue collar in background. Of the six on whom data are available, five were blue collar (electrician, sheet metal worker, house painter, truck driver, post office clerk).

Let us now discuss these hippies and the school system.

The overwhelming majority had at one time or another been in college.

Table I

Last Year of Schooling Completed

Less than high school	1
High school graduate	5
Some college	31
College graduate (A.A.)	2
College graduate (B.A.)	7
Some graduate school	13
Graduate degree (M.A.)	1
Post-M.A. work	2

Only nine persons indicated being in school the spring semester of 1968, two had graduated from high school and three from college, while four were at various phases in their undergraduate careers. It appeared then that a good proportion of the hippie population was made up of persons who had dropped out of school (under the strictest definition, 42, if one simply considers the "some college"-"some graduate work" and "some post-M.A." categories with persons who were not enrolled during the previous semester).

Most of our respondents had gone to school in the Bay area, a number in the Los Angeles area and the rest in various places scattered around the country. The matter is complicated in that for these people it is perhaps incorrect to think of them as having gone to a school, rather, as we grasped, as the research proceeded it is better to ask about the last school attended. There were 33 schools mentioned as seemingly the last school attended including Rollins College in Florida, George Washington University, the University of Oklahoma, Reed College, the University of Michigan, Brandeis University, Western Washington State at Bellingham, The University of Montana, Centralia Junior College, and Portland State College, with one mention a piece. Otherwise San Francisco State College, the University of California at Berkeley, Chico State, Los Angeles State College and other Bay area and Los Angeles schools were the last institutions attended by this seemingly peripatetic population.

In the remainder of this section the data are presented in such a way as to bear on the hypotheses set forth in the first chapter as was indicated at the beginning of this section, some of them turned out not to be correct.

The argument asserted in chapter one went roughly as follows: Certain young people, for whatever reasons, are oriented to reform of the society. They become passionately concerned about civil rights and about war and poverty. When they go to college they major in the social sciences or the humanities on the assumption that these subjects will both deepen their understanding of these issues and deal with how they as persons should relate to them. Given the approach in the social sciences and humanities however, they do not satisfactorily fulfill this need. Consequently, the student becomes dissatisfied and is available for recruitment into other subcultures. He will probably in any event have engaged in certain kinds of nonconformist behavior and if he has a network of friends similarly predisposed he will leave school and gravitate to the alternative culture and set of roles it offers. In the process of doing this he will develop an elaborate critique of higher education and the conviction that he will have nothing more to do with it.

Let us now evaluate this argument.

1. Hippies will be found to have history of political activism.

While it was true that most of the hippies had been social science majors (it was necessary, of course) to elminate the six individuals who had not been to college), it was not the case that they showed a history of deep involvement in politics and other kinds of protest. Let us deal with the latter first.

While 26 of the respondents indicated having taken part in either the peace movement or the civil rights movement or both to the extent of participating in marches, picketing, going to meetings, joining specific organizations and the like, 25 had had no such involvement. It may be the case that a greater percentage of this group had had some kind of involvement as compared to a group of comparable age range, class background and level of education but it was by no means the case that political activism characterized the group.

Of the respondents who were willing to discuss politics at any length (10) only two could be classified as activists. One involved in the peace movement and the other was active in campus protest at San Francisco State College. A few others were registered for the "Peace and Freedom" party and planned to vote for their candidate. Other than these there were no organizational involvements of any kind.

On the other hand, the symbols of the new left were ever present in the community, i.e., peace symbols, "Che" posters, posters of an anti-war character, etc. It may well be the case that while these hippies were not themsleves politically involved nor consistently concerned with politics, nevertheless they form a kind of reserve which new left and black militant activists can mobilize when they desire to engage in direct action. It would be wrong however to speak of them as dupes; it is simply a matter that they share certain values with the radical political activists but are not organizationally inclined.

While it did not turn out to be the case that our respondents consistently showed any history of the kinds of protest activities which would have provided continuity between their past and their present, nevertheless it remained possible that at another level, in a non-political way, they might have consistently been nonconformists. Unfortunately our San Francisco data do not allow us to speak to this point, but some of the data gathered in Portland bear on it. Seven girls regarded by themselves and others as hippies were interviewed in Portland.

Becoming a hippie was a gradual process for all of these girls. For one of them, the process began at about age 14, or four years before this study. For the others, recruitment into the hippie subculture had started during the junior year in high school and by the summer of 1967, one year before this research, they were immersed in the hippie life. There were some common factors in the school experience of these girls which they link to their adoption of a hippie perspective.

The common theme in the stories of these girls is that they had been isolated from or hurt by the clique system of the high school student culture. Their experiences were not identical. One had considerable success in social competition, but had also been distressed by the meanness and pettiness of the socially exclusive cliques. Another had been a tall, angular girl who matured slowly. She was embarrassed by her appearance and felt rejected because of it. She did not try to participate in the high school clique system and felt herself to be a loner and an outsider. Others had tried for social acceptance by the high status cliques and had failed. As they began to adopt a hippie orientation, they began to see themselves as rejectors rather than as the rejected. Part of the process of becoming a hippie, then, was an active rejection of high school cliques. However, some degree of alienation from the traditional student subculture appears to have been a predisposing factor in becoming a hippie.

The next step in becoming a hippie was the slow realization that they were not alone in feeling inadequate, hurt, and rejected in the high school status system. Not only did they begin to discover that others whom they had known for a long time felt the same way that they did; they also discovered that some people were highly critical of the system. Some people were saying that it was stupid to do things you don't enjoy just for the sake of acceptance and high status. These critics of the activities of the elite had already had some contact with the hippie subculture. In a sense, they brought a message from the outside that there are other worlds where the standards are different and preferable.

For most of these girls, there was one other person who was critically important in their recruitment into the hippie subculture; one person who seemed free, friendly and accepting. Through daily companionship with this model, they began to meet others with a similar perspective and to change and expand their friendship group. For most this involved a radical shift in group identification. Few of these girls maintained more than very casual relationships with their former straight friends. Differential association, then, seems to be an important part of the recruitment process in the hippie subculture, just as it is with other subcultures. In the case of this group of girls, differential association seems to have developed as a consequence of friendship with one person who became a model, a counter model to the vision of the pretty, popular, and successful high school queen.

While political involvement does not seem clearly to have been a factor for more than half of our San Francisco hippies before the movement developed the use of marijuana does. Of the non-Huckleberry respondents who would talk about drug use, 100% used marijuana. There were variations in the frequency of use but everyone used it. As one moved to other drugs, use declined, 16 had used LSD and nine had tried Methodrine, but only 2 persons indicated continuing use of either. As regards length of time having used marijuana, 20 persons indicated having used it for more than two years and 13 for one to two years. In other, words, in general length of time using marijuana predated for most the rise of the hippie movement and did mark out a kind of nonconformist behavior which the movement then came to legitimate and reward.

It is possible then that disillusionment of a nonpolitical sort or nonconformist behavior of the sort which in the previous section was labelled "lateral deviance" may play a key role in terms of developing the kind of perspective which then makes various kinds of nonconformist or bohemian subcultures attractive. The case remains however that the hypothesis as stated has to be rejected and we can only speculate on a more plausible alternative.

2. The hippie dropout will have been a social science or humanities major while in school.

It was the case that the majority of our hippies who had been in college had been social science or humanities majors. The one person with a graduate degree had a masters in art. The seven bachelors degrees were in experimental psychology, art, marketing, education, anthropology, and sociology(2). Several had passed through many majors and had had rather confused academic careers and one could with only mixed confidence speak of their last major. For example, Jack D. who had been in and out of school for eight years had majored at various times in sociology, physics, radio and television, and literature; another had moved from business to drama to sociology. He had begun school at Notre Dame and in the course of a stormy career had been suspended. He recounted the circumstances of his suspension, indicating that he had been a disc jockey on the campus radio station and had urged students to come out of their dorms and commune with that bearded, sandal-wearing hippie whose statue adorned the campus--Jesus Christ. This blasphemy led to his being suspended and rather than wait out his time and return to Notre Dame, he enrolled at the University of Indiana. At Notre Dame he had been a radio and television major. At Indiana he majored in literature, but left after a dispute with a teacher over the interpretation of a poem.

Of the persons whose education was incomplete, data were available on 38, 31 of whom had spent their careers in school principally in the humanities or social sciences. We are including area studies in this social science category (two students had been in Latin American Studies at Stanford University), education and international relations. The seven non-social science or humanities majors were in marketing, mathematics(2), computer sciences, business administration(2), and pre-medicine.

To sum up thus far, a high proportion of the hippies interviewed had been in college, most had been social science or humanities majors. While many had been politically active at one time in the peace and/or civil rights movement many had not. The overwhelming majority who would talk about drug use indicated having used marijuana long enough for it to have predated the rise of the hippie movement. Both the extended amount of time during which marijuana had been used plus the perspective articulated by the subsample of hippie girls interviewed in Portland suggest that for any of a number of reasons an orientation may develop which makes the person available for recruitment to a given subculture. He is not converted but rather develops attitudes and behavior which make his affiliation with the subculture easier.

3. The process of recruitment into hippie subculture lies through a network of friends and acquaintances with whom the recruit has previously engaged in nonconformist behavior.

It appears that the major route into the community was through friendship networks. Most of our hippie group had acquaintances in the community before dropping out. A few developed an identification with the scene from afar and migrated to the city to participate in it. (This may have been much more common during the summer of 1967.

"The Summer of Love" when the hippie thing was still new and the only real hippie community was in San Francisco. By the summer of 1968, however, a number of other hip communities had developed in other cities and Haight-Ashbury was already coming to be known as an unpleasant place.) Those people who discussed it had not gravitated to the community to find out what was there, but had known beforehand what was available. The kids at Huckleberry House provide a striking contrast to this, as they came to find out what was available, but had no clear idea about what they would find or what they wanted to find. Of the seven Huckleberry kids interviewed intensively only three could be termed sympathetic to the community. Only one liked what he found and wanted to stay.

Given that most of our hippies had broken off their education, one can assume that there were elements in it which they found unsatisfactory. It was hypothesized that: The hippie will voice and elaborate critique of higher education.

4. That hippies would have an elaborate and well articulated critique of higher education.

and

5. That they would express no intention of going back to school.

Let us discuss these two hypothese together.

Approaching the matter simply and directly, three persons out of 62 actually liked school. One was the son of academicians and regarded the academic life as a good one, one was a former fraternity member from the University of Montana, and one spoke of being stimulated by the competitiveness of student life and attributed the discontent of most students to their unwillingness to work hard and make a go of it.

The remaining people had little use for school. There would be little point in indicating that this or that criticism was made fifteen or twenty times or whatever as all kinds of unwarranted assumptions would have to be made in any interpretations based on frequencies.

What emerged from the interviews is a statement of a belief by hippies that going to school is pointless as regards gaining an education. It is necessary however in terms of getting a credential. Briefly, 44 people were either definitely returning to school or leaned toward doing so, 18 indicated they were not going back. However, of that 18, four had received a bachelors degree and one a masters degree, one had finished work at Foothill Junior College, and one was a high school graduate. They, therefore, could be considered legitimately to have completed their work. Only 11 were dropping out in the sense of not completing work toward a degree on which they had started work. These people were not randomly scattered but included six of the 13 people who had had some graduate work but not received a degree and one of the two persons with post-masters work. Naturally these people also tended to crowd at the older end of the age continuum.

The hippie then was not out of school for good. Their remarks reflected disillusionment and resignation. Myron J. was a 24-year old transplanted New Yorker who had majored in philosophy at the University of California at Berkeley and had dropped out in December of 1966, simply not returning to school after the Christmas vacation. He became involved with a black parents group in East Oakland helping to organize protest about the quality of education in the Oakland school system.

> Well, how long can you go on being concerned with the esoterica of philosophy while Oakland is burning. I got into the anti-poverty protest--poor people who felt they were being screwed by the poverty program, and by liberals. There's a lot happening at Berkeley but it's not happening in the classroom except with a few guys. You got to make a choice though. Either you drop out and become a professional revolutionary--screw school and screw the system--or you go back and get a degree so that you're less vulnerable. You have a job, you make a few bucks, and you still fight the system.

Deborah S. commented, "School is not relevant to what's happening, but I plan to go back anyway. I want to teach young kids. If you get to kids young enough maybe you can prevent their minds from being messed up. But I need a degree to do that."

Their view of school was instrumental then. They regarded it as a place hwere one got a degree. As indicated many of our hippies were either visionaries or freaks and heads. They were repelled by school because it seemed not to allow for anything other than an instrumental orientation. Ultimatel, with resignation and a certain amount of cynicism they also adopted an instrumental orientation.

Their criticisms of the university were conventional. With some exceptions they were not the victims of outrages but simply were unwilling to accommodate to the kind of institutional shortcomings which many have cited, the irrelevance of instruction, the senseless course requirements, the constraining social regulations.

Combining the San Francisco and Portland groups a dozen hippies who had just graduated from high school or who were still in high school were interviewed. Significantly their critique was more biting than that of college hippies. The hippie criticism of the American high school focuses on four aspects of the school--the bureaucratic administration, the teacher, the course content and teaching methods, and the student subculture.

The bureaucratic administration--Hippie students see high school administration as a monolithic structure of useless rules and regulations, staffed by adults who slavishly follow the directives of those higher up. These students feel bound by an arbitrary authority to do things which are irrelevant to learning. Unfair punishment for small infractions of the rules and suspension of troublesome students for minor crimes further reduce their respect for school authority. Some administrators adapt to student resistance by ignoring transgressions on the part of students whom they consider hopeless. That is, they allow these students to get away with anything, again undermining the legitimacy of their authority.

Some hippies are particularly critical of the legal compulsion to attend school. School administrators, in dealing with alienated students, sometimes focus on the legal obligation to see that students under a certain age are in school. This focus necessarily emphasizes compulsion to follow rules rather than encouragement of student commitment to education. Although hippie high school students may comply and attend, they can and do passively resist attempts to get their positive allegiance to an organization which they see as irrational and ineffective. This adaptation to the bureaucratic structure is characteristic of the most alienated students. There are others who accept the hippie critique, but who still participate in the educational process.

The teacher--The younger respondents in this study were highly critical of most high school teachers. Both the commitment and the competence of teachers were questioned. These respondents see teachers as uninterested in their students and unconcerned about student needs. Teachers, they think, are there just because it is a job and they need the money. Hippie students state that real questioning and discussion are absent from the classroom. They contend that teachers are so anxious to maintain their dominant position in relation to the student that they cannot tolerate free interchanges. Some students feel, in addition, that most high school teachers are incompetent in their subject areas. Respondents complain that even those who know their subjects are rarely able to make the material interesting to their students. A number of respondents in this study reported that they had known one or two good teachers who set standards rarely met by other teachers.

Hippie response to this lack of stimulus in the classroom is varied. Some students simply go along, do the assignments, and turn up for class because they see no alternative to going to school. Others go to school, but refuse to do any of the work unless they become particularly interested in a subject. These students cut classes, come late, forget to do assignments. Some hippies do drop out of high school. Our study does not provide any data on dropout volume, rates, or trends over time for the hippie high school group. This would be worth further investigation.

Course content and teaching methods--Most of the students in this study were middle or upper middle class and were going to college-preparatory high schools. They were looking forward to college where the material would, they believed, be more interesting than in high school. High school course content was criticized for its lack of variety and for its lack of relevance to the contemporary world and the future needs of the students. Criticisms were also leveled against the number of required courses. Challenges to the authority of the school and the teachers were evident here, also. Students seemed unwilling to accept content as relevant simply because it is required for college entrance.

Most were also doubtful about the claims of teachers that certain content would prove to be useful some time in the future. They wanted the relevance and utility of content to be demonstrated to them in the present.

Teaching methods were criticized more often than content. Learning to think and learning to know oneself were identified as much more important than memorization, which, they feel, is the predominant approach. Busy work and routine and repetitive assignments were also seen as major problems. Some respondents reported that they went along with this, although it was time consuming and uninteresting. These students were cynical about the ease of getting good grades if one just did the required busy work. They also raised questions about the value of measuring educational progress in this way.

The student culture--"They play a lot of games, and people get hurt." This theme recurred frequently when the younger hippies were talking about what they disliked about school. These high school students were alienated from the traditional student subculture at two distinct points; the first is among those rejected and excluded by the high status cliques, the second is within the high status cliques themselves.

Socially powerful leadership groups which exclude those who are too studious, those who are not attractive enough, those who are not made in the image of the group continue to exist in our high schools. Some of our respondents reported strenuous efforts to gain acceptance by these cliques. Failure in this competition tends to alienate those who don't make it from the school system itself. This is not a new observation.

Added to this is a second factor. Some of those who are accepted into the select group find that it's not worth the struggle. They find that acceptance only means a continuance of the game. They continue to feel hurt by the shifting allegiances within the central clique. They also begin to question the validity of the clique's activities and to rebel against the conformity which is the price of continued acceptance. Traditional high school extra-curricular activities begin to seem silly and empty of real interest. They are perceived as a process of going through the motions of activities pre-determined by previous generations of high school students and supported by the corrupt bureaucracy. Elections to class offices are seen as a farce. The pretense of student democracy is seen as a pretense when it is realized that unconventional decisions can and will be countermanded by school authorities. The rally squad and the football team seem to be involved in useless and juvenile activities. Few people believe that it really matters any more whether the team wins or not. The whole system is suspect.

It is at this point that the existence of a hippie subculture is critical. It provides an alternative source of group identity for some of those who experience this dissatisfaction. Instead of retreating into isolation, settling for affiliation with a second-rate and lower status group, or finding some refuge in a delinquent subgroup, the alienated hippie finds a group which reinforces and confirms the critique he is making of the system. This is a group which appears, at least, to actively reject the hypocrisy, the competitiveness, and the rigid judgmental attitudes of the established student culture. Rejection by the "in" clique becomes a positive virtue.

Summary

Young people gravitated to the hippie scene from a number of different starting points. We had hypothesized that they were drawn to it as a result of disillusionment with the failure of the society to act in what they regarded as a moral way with regard to civil rights and war and peace. In fact, about half of the group had had no active involvement in protest movements. Some had been precipitated along the road to bohemianism in reaction to the clique structure and subculture of high school. College was not stimulating to them. For the most part they were social science or humanities majors and reacted against perceived sterility in their course work and against various rules and regulations which were seen as burdensome. At some point, existing ties to a population of non-students and bohemians facilitated dropping out and affiliation with the hippie movement. The collapse of the Haight Ashbury scene combined with the need to have a credential in order to survive in the society seemed to be related to a decision on the part of most to return to school. They were returning with resignation solely for the purpose of obtaining the credential. The school experience itself was seen as meaningless. High school hippies were more critical of high school than college hippies were of college.

We speculated that they provide some of the troops for militant blacks and new left activists and that therefore their discontent should be of grave concern to decision makers within institutions of higher learning. In the next section attention is given to policy. Given what we know, how should colleges and universities respond?

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Curiously, hippies seen a few years ago as being in the vanguard of the youth movement could now be viewed as conservative, as regards their attitude toward higher education. Their conservatism expressed itself in a willingness to accomodate to the system. Hippies become significant in terms of policy in that they undoubtedly form much of the constituency of the new left and of black militants when they do return to the campus. As was indicated, the rhetoric and symbolism of the new left were an important part of their subculture. They also sympathize with black militants--Eldridge Cleaver posters and black panther posters being predominantly displayed. The new left's grievances against the university are the same as those of the hippies. They differed principally in mode of adaptation--the hippies retreating; the new left choosing to fight.

No academic with integrity can avoid being disturbed knowing that the student views the university experience as being devoid of meaning. From the perspective of the dissident student the whole routine in terms of courses and requirements is as pointless as having to do 500 push-ups a day for four years in order to obtain a degree.

The hippies retreated and attempted to create an alternative social system. It did not work and many were talking about returning to school. If school has not changed they become available for mobilization by the new left and undoubtedly some among their numbers will assume leadership in the confrontations with administration.

What then can the university do? What do these data suggest with regard to a rational appraoch to policy formulation. Let me first dispose of some approaches which are not very useful.

Some of the growing literature on the "crisis of the university" suggests that the university is a "symbolic target" for grievances which students have against the larger society. Angered over the war in Vietnam and about the persistence of racism and poverty, they take it out on the university. Given that they cannot, in any real sense, "confront the war machine" they compensate by chasing Dow recruiters off campus. Racism is often an elusive thing but they can demand that the university not engage in urban renewal projects which displace black families.

The ultimate implication of this approach is that the university, Christ-like, suffers for the sins of others. It also implies that there is not much the university can do in terms of reform to ward off attacks given that those attacks do not spring from the university's defects. Presumably, as long as the larger society continues to sin, structural reforms on campus will not passify student militants. It is but a short step from here to asking why any significant changes should be undertaken in the first place. And at that point one begins to think about calling in the police to maintain "law and order." The logic of this position then ultimately calls into question the need for change.

Short shrift may be given to a similar approach. In this rendering of the lament, the university is a stand-in for "father" and the student rebel is engaging in "symbolic patricide." Again the ultimate implication is that the university does not really stand in need of change because its critics are speaking past them to someone else.

John Seeley identified and criticized these kinds of approaches when they first reared their heads in response to the Free Speech Movement.

> The lines of explanation (for the Free Speech Movement) are almost as various as the analysts at work. They have, for the most part, however, one thing in common. They exculpate the Administration, and they trivialize, patronize or otherwise detract from the dignity of the students; and they do so mostly by claiming that "the cause" is other than it seems. And by "other than it seems," they mean not deeper or more general, but different, different in such a sense that the alleged grievance is a mask for motives of less respectability or none.
>
> Unmasking is a dangerous game: for the participants, because it can be played two ways; for the onlookers, because their moral sense and their power to judge and act is weakened by a general belief that "everything is only a cover for something else," or by the mistaken supposition that this is true in a particular case where it is untrue--or true but immaterial. Every court in the land knows that, in general, it had better try the issues as presented, and only at utmost need "look behind them"--to the greed of the attorneys, or the cleanness of the hands of the adversaries, let alone to motives which are always mixed, and none the worse for that. It is a sound rule.
>
> Let us therefore, at least begin by taking the matter at its plain and manifest face-value."

Administrators who based their decisions on the assumption that their opponents are really engaging in symbolic patricide or some such would eventually wind up running a police-state campus and would thereby shift themselves from the category of symbolic sinner to that of genuine sinner.

It makes sense then to begin with the premise that there might be something to student complaints. That there may in fact be a need for structural reform.

The prescription must be based on a correct diagnosis of the illness. From the comments of our hippies and the declarations of the new left three areas of criticism of the university emerge.

First, there is the demand that the university reflect a given kind of moral stance. Attacks upon recruiters for the military and for defense oriented industries are based on the notion that there is "clean work" and "dirty work" and that the university should not collaboarte in seducing students into doing dirty work.

Second, students demand a redistribution of power within the university. They demand participation in making the decisions which affect the significant areas of student life.

Third, they demand a redefinition of what constitutes education. This entails doing away with elaborate and extensive requirements. It entails providing opportunities for work in the community. Following Churchill's observation that "a man must take part in the actions and passions of his time at the risk of being deemed otherwise not to have lived" they call for a university which provides such opportunities.

All of these criticisms deal in one way or another with the failure of the university to increase its expressive potential. The students articulate grievances against those aspects of the university which constrain and demean and control. If hippie discontent is only the peak of the iceberg, then the university must concern itself with reform. Our college deans perhaps misread the significance of the hippie movement in assuming that it had no impact on college life. Given the indictment of hippies and other students, what kind of structural changes might be entertained?

Let us deal first with power and student participation.

First, the university should do away with all rules and regulations which entail any element of "in loco parentis." The contract between the univesity and the student should oblige the school only to provide a library, classroom, teachers, and the technical apparatus necessary for carrying on instruction. The university should not be willing at the urgings of parents, state legislators, or other moral entrepreneurs to entertain any notions of safeguarding the virginity of its coeds or insuring that its young men remain sober. Consequently, regulations such as those dealing with off-campus living arrangements should be done away with. Curfew regulations should be left to the democratic decision of each residence house, and if a house should decide to have none at all that should be all right. Any regulation placing the university in a parent-child relationship to the student should be closely scrutinized and probably removed from the books.

Second, and more important, students should be involved in making key decisions at the university. Key decisions involve such things as curricula and the hiring and firing of faculty. Conventionally a number of arguments are advanced against this: that students are not sufficiently mature, that by definition they are not sufficiently knowledgeable to be involved in making key decisions, that they are transients who may have short term advantage rather than the long term interests of the institution at heart.

Let us deal with these contentions.

1. There is a basic reality which confronts the university. Students demand power and back those demands with massive disruptions. In other words, to simply say that students are not sufficiently mature to share in a major way in the exercise of power is, in some sense, beside the point. They do not accept this argument and the university has to deal with the reality of their refusal to accept it.

2. If the university is willing to grant some credence to Seeley's suggestion that there may be something to student grievances then they would have to entertain the possibility that one of the reasons for their failure to perceive this prior to the onset of massive student demonstrations might lie in what can be termed "situational determinants of perspective." In other words, any individual's conception of how an organization works and what its problems are are a function of his place in the organizational matrix. The kinds of policies the individual advocates make sense to him, given his place in the matrix, but may make little sense to others or may even be harmful for them. Put somewhat differently, it may be impossible for anyone to make decisions in terms of the "objective interests of the institution" as the individual's concept of what those interests are are determined by his own place within the organization's system. Phrasing the matter in yet another way: while adminstrators may know what is good for administrators, they may not necessarily know what is good for students. In that sense, student interests can be protected only if students share in decision making. The instituionally determined biases of administration and faculty have to be countered by the institutionally determined biases of students. From this kind of confrontation (hopefully within the context of institutional mechanisms for decision making) may come decisions which serve the interests of all parties.

Some departments within some schools have moved in the direction of significant power-sharing by admitting students to faculty meetings and by systematically involving them in decisions on hiring and on tenure. We would argue that students be placed on boards of trustees, that they be represented on presidential search committees, and be involved in decisions with regard to the appointment of administrators.

In the past students have regarded the university as an alien institution. It has either bored or repelled them. Lately they have turned on it and massive violence has occurred. We are suggesting that it is beside the point for adults to say that students do not deserve power. The reality of the situation is that they are in fact demanding it. Beyond this their claim to power is not with out some credibility. We recommend a sharing of power from the level of boards of trustees down to the making of rules with regard to library closing hours.

On education--The student indictment of the university in terms of education embraces part of their critique of the moral stance of the university. The Cox report phrased the question the students ask very succinctly, "What is the proper role of the university in the immediate practical application of knowledge to military, industrial, social, and economic problems?" The report indicated the answer a large number of students provide.

> During the hearings before this Commission it was suggested that Columbia's relationship with her neighbors would be immeasurably improved if, instead of buying up . . . buildings and driving tenants from the vicinity, the University would bring the expertise of her doctors and social scientists to the aid of these unfortunate occupants who resorted to crime, prostitution and drugs./2/

The essential concern of administrators should be with how to institutionalize opportunities for a fuller, richer, more expressive experience for students. There are at least four kinds of structural changes which might be made.

1. Universities might explore the possibility of setting up "urban service centers." These service centers would be established in the ghetto and in the poorer sections of the city. They would offer advice and counsel to local citizens on a variety of matters such as what their rights are in disputes with landlords or slum merchants, what forms of financial assistance exist for slum youth wishing to go to college, and what training opportunities exist for those wishing to acquire skills to qualify for better paying jobs. These service centers should also offer courses to ghetto and slum dwellers with the possibility that the individual could, over time, acquire a degree. Liaison should be made through them between persons at the university having certain skills and particular groups in the community, e.g. business administration faculty and small shop keepers living in the ghetto.

The university urban service center would be staffed by students and faculty. The student would receive a certain number of credits for the involvement, the number being sufficiently great as to free up enough of his time to allow for meaningful participation.

2. The proposal entails bringing the university out into the community, the second, bringing the community into the university. Presently, rather severe credentials are required for university teaching. We propose that universities create a certain number of "adjunct professor" posts, these posts to be filled by persons who have a special and relevant competency but who are not credentialled. For example, the leaders of local welfare rights organizations, themselves generally women on welfare, are often experts on welfare law and on the operation of the welfare bureaucracy. It would be a bold step for a university to appoint a woman on welfare with a 10th grade education to an instructional post, but it would also serve the interests of livelier and more relevant instruction. As a result of being involved in day to day lobbying for an increase in the rights of persons on welfare, many of these women have developed an expertise in the area and a degree of articulateness which might serve well in the classroom. They bring to the subject a certain kind of competence which the credentialled "expert" does not have.

There are a variety of competent persons in the community who are "involved in the actions and passions of their time" who might well serve on university staffs in an adjunct capacity.

3. The remaining rigidities as regards course work might well be done away with. A number of schools have moved in the direction of allowing student initiated courses to be taught, such courses carrying full credit. The broad institutionalization of this procedure would allow students to define for themselves what their interests are and what they want to learn. Consideration would have to be given to what the minimum number of students would be required before classroom space and the time would be set aside. But with some reasonable minimum the student opportunity to define the relevant should both allay criticism of the university for being irrelevant and serve the purpose of education by enriching the curricula.

4. Finally, there are a range of changes which would have the intention and consequence of increasing the student's opportunities to explore and probe without the risk of suffering for it. The pass/fail option has been adopted at a number of schools. Non-graded courses might be attempted in certain courses in the social sciences and the humanities where the grading process often is arbitrary in any event.

The thrust of these policy recommendations (and there could be many more under each heading) has been to suggest involvement of the university in activities which make use of the idealism and humanism of so many students. In addition, one can reasonably assume that the university itself would benefit by bringing its resources to bear in active confrontation with the ills of society. The ivory tower can hardly be admirable when outside it the society is burning up. Indeed, those within the ivory tower run the risk of being consumed in the flames if they refuse to bring their skills and energy to bear in attempt to cope with and arrest the spreading conflagration.

We feel that the kinds of policies we have recommended speak to the criticism of the university voiced by the hippies we confronted and by many student dissidents. They found the university a sterile place. We feel that these policies would make it a place of life and excitement. A place where old forms of learning could be pursued and opportunities for new knowledge increased.

These policies might fail if implemented, but we feel they merit serious consideration. If anything, they are not sufficiently radical, given the dimensions of the crisis facing the campus; but they do speak to at least some of the sources of student discontent.

Summary

The original question raised in this study about the relationship between the hippie subculture and the college dropout can be answered briefly. We found no clear-cut linkage between recruitment into the hippie subculture and dropping out of college. Our interviews with administrators at 9 San Francisco Bay area colleges indicate that the magnitude of the dropout problem has not changed with the rise and fall of the Haight. College administrators who were interviewed were, on the whole, unconcerned about hippies, either as dropouts or as campus deviants. Student activists, both left and black, provide their most insistent problems.

Motivations for dropping out of college and motivations in returning may have changed, even though rates have remained constant. Our interviews with hippies suggest that this may be true, at least for some college dropouts. Most of those hippies who had started college intend to return, even though they are temporarily out of school. Their intention to return is related to an appreciation of the instrumental value of a college degree. However, college is not viewed as one step in a life-long career. Our respondents expressed little commitment to any kind of career in the straight occupational-organizational world. At the same time, they recognized the value, in this society, of a college degree for economic survival.

It is at the high school level that a more easily demonstrated relationship between the hippie subculture and the educational system appears to exist. It is at this level that the hippie critique of the school system is the most bitter. It is at this level, one might speculate that the dropout problem will become more serious in the future.

Our policy recommendations focused on broadening student participation in decision making, making them equal partners, on expanding the opportunities available to students to involve themselves in social action and on making the university a livelier, more exciting and relevant place by involving noncredentialled persons in teh instructional process, and on expanding the opportunities open to students to explore and probe in various areas of inquiry without fear of "failing" or getting "bad grades."

We have covered a considerable distance and dealt with only a small part of the problem of youth in the society. It is our feeling however that a bit more is known than was before known. Ultimately, in our opinion, the most important part of this report has to be this section dealing with policy for only if effective and responsible policies can be implemented can the university be a place of richness and excitement contributing to the development of a more humane and stable society.

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APPENDIX I

Hippie Project -- College Dean Interview Schedule

1. How long have you been on this campus?

2. How long have you been in your present position?

3. Do you have a hippie group on this campus?

4. Do you come into contact with these students in the course of your work? If so, what sorts of problems do they present?

5. Can you estimate the number of students who might be in this group?

6. What sorts of characteristics do hippies have, from your point of view?

7. Could you describe the sources of your information about hippies? Personal contact? The underground press? Other media? Discussions with others who know hippies?

8. When did you first begin to notice the hippie phenomenon on this campus?

9. Have there been any recent changes in the hippie scene on this campus--i.e. do you see it as a waning movement or a basic change in the orientation of at least a sizeable minority of the students?

10. Can you compare this year's incoming class to this year's senior class in this respect? (Are there more freshman hippies?)

11. As a professional educator, how do you account for the hippy phenomenon?

12. Do you see the hippie orientation or the hippie critique of higher education as a factor in dropping out of college?

13. Has the college dropout phenomenon changed with the development of the hippie orientation--i.e. are students dropping out for different reasons now than in the past?

14. Are there any changes in the pattern of returning? Do you see people with a hippie approach returning to college?

15. Do you have a non-student or semi-student hippie group around your campus? If so, in your opinion, do they have any function as recruiters into the hippie scene?

16. Can a distinction be drawn on your campus between hippie students and students who are members of the new left?

17. Do you see any differences between hippies and beats?

18. On your campus, what is the relationship between hippies and black militants?

19. As you understand it, what kinds of criticisms are hippies and other dissidents making of higher education?

20. Have any issues re. the hippie group been the focus of campus conflict here?

21. On your campus, have members of the hippie group participated in campus conflict over other issues? If so, have they assumed leadership roles?

22. Has your graduate school enrollments been affected by the hippie phenomenon in any way--i.e. have promising students who might have gone on to graduate school dropped out to become hippies?

23. Has your school developed any responses to student criticisms of higher education? Experimental colleges; a black curriculum; pass/no pass options; changes in rules re. students behavior and political activity; administrative modifications; inclusion of students on faculty committees; etc. (Get a copy of the discipline code, if possible.)

24. As a professional educator, what response, if any, do you feel institutions of higher learning should make to student criticism? Do you think that the college should restructure itself?

25. As an administrator, do you feel any pressures to "crack down" on the hippies? From parents? From the community? From trustees, donors, etc.? From politicians?

26. Can you suggest any other people on your campus who might be knowledgeable about the hippie scene?

APPENDIX II

Interview Guide

Information on Interview:
- Interviewer
- Date
- Where did you encounter this individual?
- How long did you spend with him or her?
- How did you meet him or her?
- What sort of living arrangements does this individual have? (If this person has a pad, describe it. How many people live in it? What is the sex ratio, what is there?)

General Interview:

I. General appearance:
1. Dress (describe).
2. Health: Does this person seem to be in good health?
3. Was there any mention of medical problems in the recent past?

II. Background Information:
- SES of parents (Income, education and occupation)
- Geographical origin, and how long in this area?
- Age (of parents and respondent)
- Sex of respondent
- Family Structure (i.e. did he/she grow up with both parents; how many brothers and sisters, etc.)

Educational History:
1. Highest grade in school completed
2. In school now? (If so, where, and some indication of success)
3. Some indication of success in high school
4. Educational aspirations
5. If out of school, how long out, and any plans to return
6. If out of school what school have to be like for him to contemplate returning?
7. Feelings toward the whole school bag
8. Other educationally relevant information

III. Work and Getting Along:
- How does this individual get along financially?
  - Female support?
  - Parental support? (If so how much, how often, and how does the individual get it?)
  - Work? (If respondent works, what kind of work, how frequently and does he like it?)

Welfare?
Hustles? (Dealing, panhandling, stealing, others?)

IV. Drugs:
Does respondent use drugs?
If so what is used, and why is it preferred?
How long has respondent used drugs?
Chronology of usage: what did respondent start with and has he changed types?
Has there been cyclical use (especially with speed)?
Has respondent ever been busted or institutionalized for use?
Does he/she smoke and drink as well?
Self-evaluation of use.
What sort of activities are engaged in while high?
Other.

V. Music:
Does music seem to be a central interest?
What sort of music is preferred? (Within rock what specific styles are preferred?)

VI. Politics:
Any involvement in politics in past (i.e. peace movement, etc.)?
Involvement now?
    Would respondent participate in demonstrations now?
    Does he/she belong to any sort of organized protest organization now?
Did he/she work in the primary? If so for whom?
Has he/she been involved in the Peace and Freedom Party? (If so what was done?)
Other information relevant to political activity.

VII. Induction into the movement:
How did the respondent get into it? (i.e through friends)
Was the break gradual or radical?
How long has individual been involved?
What does he/she see as the future of this sort of life, and own future in next decade?

VIII. Prestige evaluations with the community:
Hip versus Hippie
Plastic versus Hard Core
Hip versus Straight
Worthy and unworthy styles within the community

IX. Ideology and Emergent Scenes
Do they read, and if so what? (i.e. Goodman, Fanon, Watts, etc.)
What sort of world view is articulated, if any?
How do they evaluate the straight world and their relationship to it?
What do they consider their most important "bag" or "thing"?

APPENDIX III

A Rural Hippie Commune

It was indicated in section three that some hippies have left San Francisco to set up communities in rural areas. Although we were not concerned with such communities some were visited. We expected that the orientation of hippies who remained in the city with intention of going back to school would be quite different from that of the hippie who moved to a commune. It may be instructive to briefly describe one such settlement.

The ranch is a self-sustained community on a 780-acre piece of land north of San Francisco. The place was started by a single benefactor in 1967, who lives on the ranch and oversees its administration. He supplies the food and needs of the approximately forty people who live on the ranch. Several are friends of the owner from the Haight-Ashbury of two years ago when hippie life was flourishing. Now the people have continued this original commitment and ideal in more conducive circumstances in a pastoral setting.

The various tasks on the ranch are assigned to the twenty-five adults who make permanent residence in one of the nine buildings. The women alternate days baking bread, preparing food, taking care of the approximately fifteen children. The men fill basic ranch jobs--fixing the fences, building irrigation lines, fixing the cars and motorcycles, and cleaning the swimming pool. The tasks are assigned by the leader and posted on the bulletin board between the kitchen and dining room in the main mansion. In general, the jobs are carried out in a spirit of selfless cooperation. For instance, when the head baker called for people to knead the bread, a dozen people appeared in a few minutes to help.

The only time the residents met as a group was for dinner each evening. It was generally expected that, if you lived on the ranch and were hungry, you ate dinner with the others. A clear distinction was made informally between the members of the community and visitors, usually. The very intense and familiar interaction among the community members meant that visitors were somewhat isolated.

The children range from ages twelve to approximately five. Most are offspring of the married couples on the ranch. Several live on the ranch but have parents or guardians who live nearby. During the normal school year, the children attend school on the ranch. Most of the curriculum is taught by a middle-aged lady who lives on the ranch. She is a former principal of a local grade school. She teaches the state required courses, such as English, history and mathematics. Other residents of the ranch teach non-required subjects: horseback riding, guitar playing, pottery, painting and sculpting. These subjects are not taught formally, but the children are present to learn if they are interested. The closest example to such a non-directed free school is A.S. Neill's Summerhill in England. Upon questioning the parents, they state they do not care if their children go to college. That is up to the child himself. It is not as important what the child does as what he is. Conversations with the children indicated that universally they were much happier now than in their previous schools. Most attended various public schools in the Bay area the year previously. None expressed any desire to return to the public schools.

The school is merely one aspect of daily life for these children. Their schoolmates are the same people they live with--their "brothers and sisters." This helps break down the distinction between school and the community. It is merely one activity in the day that is carried out with the same group of people. The older children show a remarkable amount of independence and responsibility; several own and maintain their own horses. An example of their maturity is their ability to function in a group--hostility and bullying is rare. The younger children are allowed considerable freedom as well. When they are tended, it is by any of a number of women on the ranch, rather than only their mother. It seems though that the mother has ultimate responsibility for her child.

A similar community, several miles to the north, Morningstar Ranch, has been scrutinized by a sociologist. While visiting Morningstar, Lewis Yablonsky found shortcomings in its organization. The anarchy of the situation "resulted in a vacuum in which the physically strong took leadership." (Yablonsky, The Hippie Trip) This seems analogous to a process of primitivization in which the commune assumes characteristics of the initial tribal stage of primitive social organization. This was not true of the former ranch; the leadership was easily accepted, being based on trust and cooperation rather than coercion. Some of the differences in the two ranches are attributable to basic differences in structure. Morningstar is completely open; access to the ranch is denied to no one. It also has no buildings or a financial "angel" to supply it. According to several people who had previously lived at Morningstar, the absence of a consistent population and basic organization led to the growth of factions.

This ranch, on the other hand, is closed to visitors except on weekends. Subsistence is not a problem and a consistent population is maintained. The private nature of the ranch also means that the place is secure from outside authorities.

Morningstar, however, has been besieged by police raids over the past year. Yablonsky ignored this factor which could have contributed to the authoritarian atmosphere of the place.

How can this community survive in the larger society? Its values and activities are completely opposed to those of the larger community. The leader of the community seems to have made no provision for when his money runs out. In fact, he has been sued for the rest of his fortune by his father-in-law, who claims that he is wasting his fortune.

The local court has ruled in favor of the father-in-law. The case has been appealed. The reaction of the leader has been to turn to religious pleas. He has claimed that the ranch is the incarnation of the things Jesus preached. When asked about what happens if he loses the case, he replies, "The Lord will provide. Although the hippie community has long been involved in Eastern religion, this is one of the first instances when Western Christianity has been advocated.

The leader of the group has long had religious affiliations. The minister of an Episcopal church in San Francisco has appeared at the ranch several times, as well as leading member of his congregation. In fact, the church supplied the funds for the ranch's oven and bakery setup.

Most of the inhabitants of the ranch had been residents of the San Francisco area for several years. Many had lived in the Haight-Ashbury area and had known each other since that time. "Most of us first realized that a real community could exist when we were in the Haight," one girl said. For many, the move to the ranch was an attempt to realize the original vision of an independent community. Among those talked to, most had finished college and had previously held steady, paying jobs. Two were presently graduate students. Most on the ranch had no desire to return to either school or to jobs. Since they do not pay rent or for food, they can afford not to hold a job. Social class background seemed to be quite high. Many were from wealthy families in comfortable suburbs. As children, they had already experienced the American dream--a suburban house, with a large lawn and two cars. That is the dream of their parents, but it seems hollow and unsatisfactory to the children. In its place, an alternative dream has been sought. For many, the ranch is the embodiment of that dream.

APPENDIX IV

Members of the Research Team

The principal members of the research team were as follows:

John Howard, Principal Investigator
John McCarthy, Research Associate
Joan Acker, Research Associate
Benton Johnson, Research Associate
Michael Chastain, Research Assistant
Ronald Finne, Research Assistant
Gregory Johnson, Research Assistant

Other persons contributed insights and advice, all of which was gladly received and much of which was valuable.